

A book about autographs

Simon Gratz

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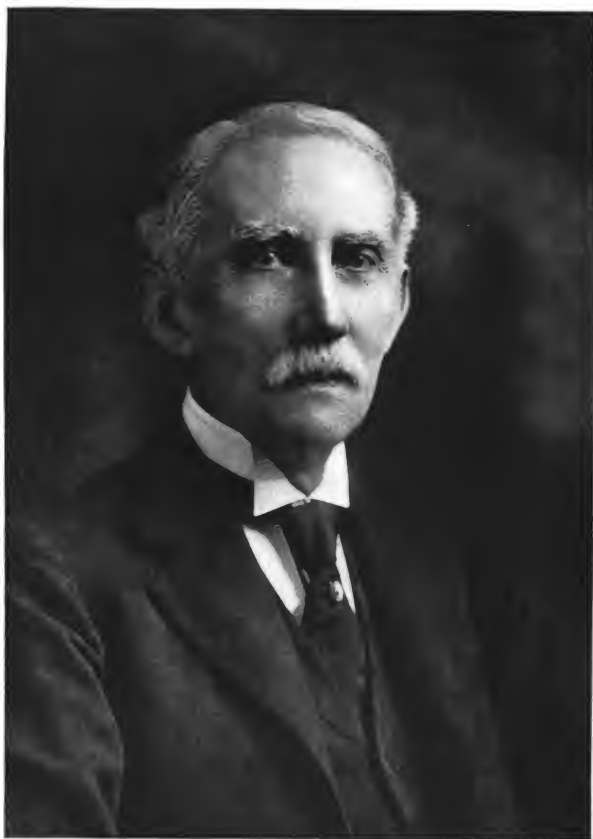
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A Book About Autographs

BY
SIMON GRATZ

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SIMON GRATZ

A BOOK ABOUT AUTOGRAPHS

BY
SIMON GRATZ



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I DEDICATE THIS BOOK TO THE MEMORY OF
MY LIFE-LONG FRIEND

JAMES TYNDALE MITCHELL

CHIEF JUSTICE OF
THE SUPREME COURT OF PENNSYLVANIA
AND
AN ENTHUSIASTIC COLLECTOR

PREFACE

THE purpose of this book, which is written in compliance with requests from a number of my friends who are collectors, is to gather together, in compact form, a variety of information about autographs which is widely scattered and not easily accessible. Much that is valuable is to be found in the book written by Dr. H. T. Scott, entitled "Autograph Collecting"; while the more elaborate work prepared by him in collaboration with Mr. Samuel Davey—"A Guide to the Collector of Historical Documents, etc."—is very complete in its general treatment of the subject. Part of the material they contain has been used in the preparation of several chapters of the present book; and the writer freely acknowledges his obligations to them, as well as to Mons. Etienne Charavay's excellent preface to the Catalogue of the collection of Alfred Bovet.

Other books, such as Mr. Adrien H. Joline's very entertaining "Meditations of an Autograph Collector" and "Rambles in Autograph Land," consist mainly of the text of letters in his collection, which serve as a basis for the expression of thoughts, observations, and comments, sometimes profound, sometimes humorous

or sarcastic, but always interesting and frequently instructive. The same comment is true, though in a much smaller degree, of the little book written by Mr. George R. Sims, entitled "Among My Autographs." These books have, therefore, a character that is literary, and distinctly different from the practical treatment of the subject which is intended to be followed in this volume.

From all available sources the writer has tried to gather whatever will help to give collectors something approaching an adequate knowledge of the taste for collecting autographs, and its progress from small beginnings to the prominence it has now attained. In the belief that a portion of the subject which has hitherto been neglected should receive proper consideration, much space is given to a detailed account of a number of the leading collections that have, in years past, made their appearance at public sales after the death of their owners.

If this compilation shall prove acceptable, and in some respects useful, to those who have been led into the pursuit of the very delightful hobby and recreation that has so long been dear to the writer, he will feel that his labor has not been in vain.

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EXPLANATION OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK

A. L. S., autograph letter signed. A letter entirely in the handwriting of, and signed by, the person named.

A. D. S., autograph document signed. A document entirely in the handwriting of, and signed by, the person named.

P. A. S., the same as A. D. S.

L. S., letter signed. A letter signed by the person named, the body of which is not in his handwriting.

D. S., document signed. A document signed by the person named, the body of which is not in his handwriting.

Folio, foolscap paper size.

4to, letter paper size.

8vo, note paper size.

p., page. pp., pages.

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CHAPTER I

CONCERNING THE TASTE FOR COLLECTING AUTOGRAPHS

FORTUNATE should we count the man who has formed a taste for collecting books, autographs, coins, engravings, postage stamps, or any other thing that may strike his fancy. If he takes a genuine interest in, and has a real love for, the diversion he has chosen, he is sure to derive much pleasure, and to gain a varying amount of intellectual profit, from its pursuit.

It is good for the body, as well as the mind, to seek occasional relief from the tedium and cares of active professional or business life, by turning to one's chosen hobby for relaxation and quiet pleasure.

Students of history and biography are naturally attracted to the great names that shine in the pages they have read. They cherish—if they can obtain it—any personal memento of one who is famous in the

annals of literature, statecraft, royalty, war, music, etc., etc. A fragment of his personal attire, his watch, cane, seal, snuffbox, sword—in short, anything that was worn or used by him—is valued most highly. A small piece of the coffin in which he was buried, or a few of the hairs cut from his head, would be regarded as exceptional treasures. Witness the prices, as given in Dr. Scott's "Autograph Collecting," that such things have brought. In 1816, an English peer gave £750 for a tooth of Sir Isaac Newton. For an old waistcoat of Rousseau's, 960 francs were given. In 1836, 500 francs were paid for a doubtful cane of Voltaire's. The wig of Sterne, the author of "Tristram Shandy," realized, at a London auction in 1822, the enormous sum of 200 guineas. Two pens used in signing the treaty of Amiens in 1801 were purchased for £500. The hat worn by Napoleon at the battle of Eylau was sold in Paris, in 1835, for 1920 francs. Twenty years ago an engraved silver spur, worn by Henri IV. at his entrance into Paris, realized 14,000 francs.

Of all these "gentle pastimes," the collecting of autographs appeals most strongly to those who seek a delightful relaxation in an eminently intellectual amusement. An autograph letter from the hand of a noted man is the closest personal memorial of him that can be had. Here we have the identical paper that his

hands touched and on which he wrote the words we read—words expressing thoughts as they emanated from his brain. We almost feel as if we were in direct contact with the writer. If he was good as well as great, a feeling of reverence for the paper we treasure steals over us. We are moved by the desire to learn the leading events of his life; and, if he was a prominent character in history, we wish to know the historical events in which he was a participant. In this way our treasured personal memorial leads us into fields of intellectual activity and historical research.

The taste for autographs dates back to ancient times, when people wrote on tablets of wax or on papyrus. Mr. Joline, in his entertaining "*Meditations of an Autograph Collector*," tells us that "it existed among the Greeks in the palmy days of their civilization. It is related that the third Ptolemy refused to supply the starving Athenians with wheat, unless he was allowed to borrow the original manuscripts of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, in order that he might make copies of them. . . . Cicero was an enthusiastic collector, as were also the Consul *Mucianus* and *Libanius* the Sophist."

Whether these manuscripts of great writers were desired merely for literary purposes, or whether an additional and special interest was attached to them as

original autographic papers, does not appear. The probability is that they were not sought in the way or for the reasons that, at a much later period, led to the collecting of autographs.

William S. Walsh, in his "Hand-Book of Literary Curiosities," speaks thus of autograph hunting: "Sporadic cases are, indeed, recorded at a very high antiquity; but it is only during the last two centuries that it has reached the epidemic stage. The first case ever recorded was that of a certain Atossa. Little is known about her, save that she was not the mother of Darius, though she may have been the mother of the autograph collector. . . . But we really are not on solid ground until we reach the great name of Cicero. We know that he had a collection, and a fine one; for he speaks of it with gratulation. The fever, even in those early days, was contagious. It spread to his contemporaries; it raged with some violence among his immediate successors. Pliny mentions one Pompeius Secundus, at whose house he had seen autographs of Cicero, Augustus, Virgil, and the Gracchi. Yet Pliny, who bows to Secundus as his superior, himself possessed a collection. Then came the eruption of the barbarians, and good-by to the collector and his collections. We do not meet him again until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then he reappears in the person

of a certain Bohemian squire who, about the year 1507, began keeping a book which recorded his exploits of the chase, and in which, as a further refresher of his memory, he collected the signatures of his great hunter friends. This he called his *Album Amicorum*, probably in memory of the Roman Album, from *albus*, white, a blank tablet for making entries. The custom soon extended all over Germany, not merely with hunters, but more especially with travellers who, on returning from the grand tour, would proudly exhibit their Alba in proof of the good company they had kept while on the road. By the seventeenth century it had reached France, and evidently it was just beginning to be heard of by Englishmen anxious to emulate foreign fashions in 1642, when James Howell included in his "Instructions for Forreine Travel" this item: "Some do use to have a small leger book fairly bound up table-book-will [table-book-wise], wherein when they meet with any person of note and eminency, and journey or pension with him any time, they desire him to write his name, with some short sentence which they call the mot of remembrance, the perusall whereof will fill one with no unpleasing thoughts of dangers and accidents passed."

John Gough Nichols, in his preface to "Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned, and Remarkable

Personages conspicuous in English History from the reign of Richard the Second to that of Charles the Second," says: "Our earliest signatures of laymen of rank commence with the reign of Richard the Second. Familiar epistles are not found until the reign of Henry the Fifth. We have nothing earlier than the fifteenth century which can be called a familiar letter. . . . The first collections of autographs were probably those entitled *Alba Amicorum*. . . . Isaak Walton, in his biography of Sir Henry Wotton, defines an 'Albo' to be 'a white paper book which the German gentry usually carry about them for the purpose of requesting eminent characters to 'write some sentence in.' No. 933 in Humphrey Wanley's catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts is described as a paper book in octavo, bound longwise, being one of those which the Germans call Albums, and are much used by the young travellers of that nation, who commonly ask a new acquaintance [even at the first meeting] to write some sentence therein, with a compliment to the owner's learning, good sense, etc. Which done, the names gotten are laid before the next new face, and the young man upon all occasions, especially at his return, by these hands demonstrates what good company he has kept."

These *Alba Amicorum* are very numerous. In the year 1862 there were said to be upwards of six

Lythog:
Aliud est Minus, aliud Virescens.

*Benevole memorie causa, piam
 hac Claret Dno Lythog: Minus
 whist Magdeburgi mof. Apr: to:
 1677.*

*Otto de Guenike,
 Serenissimi et potentissimi Dom: Electo
 Brandenburg: Consil: et Justit: Consil:*

Prout Religio suggerit.

*Generositate testatur
 Jeribol.
 Wittenberg.*

*mof. Decemb:
 cl: 12c 2xxviii*

Caspar Zieglerus D.

*h.
 Tanaa veracibus phidri
 Consuetudinem pauci.*

*Pls. River. Pophy.
 pndis dketu
 ingratas*

*Samuel Stryk D.
 Confil: the de River
 Wittenberg d. 27 diei: iugri*

Upper—Autograph Inscription in an Album Amicorum of Otto von Guericke, the celebrated German experimental philosopher, and the inventor of the air-pump.

Lower—Autograph Inscription in an Album Amicorum of Caspar Ziegler, an able German jurist and Protestant Canonist, and Samuel Stryk, a German jurist and author.

hundred of them in the manuscript department of the British Museum, one of which contains the rare autograph of the poet Milton. The earliest is that numbered 1178 in the Egerton Mss. It bears date 1554. No. 851 in the Sloane Collection is also a notable early example. It was formed in 1579, commences with the motto and signature of the Duc d'Alençon, the suitor of Queen Elizabeth, and has on the opposite page a short inscription by the Emperor Matthias of Germany.

At the present day they frequently occur at auction sales or in dealers' catalogues in Germany, and bring prices varying from high to moderate according to the importance of the names they contain. Many of them have been taken to pieces to obtain autographs of noted persons that are not procurable in the form of letters.

CHAPTER II

THE QUALITIES THAT DETERMINE THE VALUE OF AUTOGRAPHS

IN considering the qualities that determine the value of autographs it seems scarcely necessary to remark that the only letters or documents which are welcomed as ornaments in the cabinets of collectors, and which have a definite and well sustained market value, are those of men and women who have achieved note in some particular walk of life or have held positions of commanding prominence. Occasionally it may happen that a collector will, for some special reason, desire a letter of one who was unknown to fame or, perhaps, had earned the horrid fame which attaches itself to a few notorious criminals. Thus, a letter of John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of President Lincoln, brings a large price; as, probably, would letters of the fanatics who killed King Henry of Navarre,

the Duc de Guise, and the Duke of Buckingham.

What, then, are the factors that settle the rank of an autograph letter or document, as well as its market value?

First. The genuineness of the paper—that is, the authenticity of the handwriting—must be undoubted. This is an absolute requisite. Where the shadow of a reasonable doubt hangs over a paper, a prudent buyer will not become a purchaser.

Second. The most illustrious names that shine in the pages of history, literature, etc., are, of course, those that will command the highest prices; as they are sought for by all collectors. Of the names that come in this class, those that are most rarely met with are naturally the most costly. For example, Tasso or Corneille would bring vastly more than Addison or Pope in the literary series; while for such names as Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and others that, as the French say, are *presque introuvables*, a man of great wealth might be willing to pay a small fortune. In American autographs we have the well known instances of two signers of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Lynch, junior, and Button Gwinnett; of the former of whom only one autograph letter signed is known, and of the latter nothing better than a letter signed. A good A. L. S. 4to or folio of either would

readily bring from five to ten thousand dollars in the present condition of the market for such rarities.

Third. The character of the contents of the letter or document plays a large part in the answer to the inquiry about value. A love letter from a noted poet or prose-writer—as, for example, one of Dean Swift's letters to Stella, or one of the many that John Keats wrote to Fanny Brawne—is worth much more than a letter with ordinary contents. One that contains material for history is, in like manner, more valuable than one devoid of any particular interest. A good A. L. S. 4to of King Charles I., of England, with unimportant contents, may to-day [when prices are tremendously inflated] be worth from £30 to £50; whereas the remarkable letter to the Marquis of Ormond, which is twice named in other chapters of this book, would probably bring ten times as much. So, while an ordinary A. L. S. of Sir Walter Raleigh may be estimated at £75 to £100, that which was recently sold in the Huth sale brought, on account of its pathetic and very interesting contents, £520; an enormous figure when we consider that £84 was thought to be a high price for it at the Young sale in 1869. And whereas a letter, with contents of no particular importance, of the unfortunate Sir Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, might be rated at £30 or £40, that which he wrote to his wife,

while he was a prisoner in the Tower, expressing his belief that there was nothing in the charge against him, or that "at the worst, his Majesty will pardon all"—which produced £40.10.0 at the Baker sale in 1855—would be likely to realize not less than five times that amount to-day.

Fourth. The celebrity or station of the person addressed is far from being an unimportant factor. Take, for example, the letters, in the Trémont collection, of Kings and Queens written to other crowned heads; such as those of Queen Elizabeth to King Henry III [of France], Francis I. [of France] to the Emperor Charles V., Henry VIII. to Catherine de Medicis, James I. [of England] to Henry IV. [of France], and Louis XII. to the Emperor Maximilian. We do not need to be told why such a letter has a value much in advance of that which attaches to one written by a Sovereign to a subject on an ordinary affair of State.

Fifth. The length of the letter is also to be taken into account; though it is hard to understand why the *number* of pages should influence value, unless the interest of the contents keeps pace with the quantity of written words.

Sixth. The condition of the letter is a matter for consideration. A dilapidated or worm-eaten paper, or one in which the ink, by its corrosive qualities, has

destroyed portions of the text—as is quite common with Italian letters of the 16th and 17th centuries—is thus robbed of much of its commercial value. Any imperfection in the signature has a like effect.

Seventh. A full A. L. S. 4to or folio is far more valuable than a letter *merely signed* by the writer or a document signed, unless the historic interest of the two latter should offset the difference; and letters or manuscripts on paper are much more desirable than those on vellum.

Lastly. The taste that prevails at any particular period has a large influence upon prices. This fact can be well illustrated by the series of American cabinet officers and that of members of the Continental Congress. Thirty or forty years ago nearly all collectors paid attention to the names in these series, and they were in constant demand at good prices. To-day, for some inexplicable reason, they have fallen into almost complete neglect and have consequently lost most of the value they once had. They may, however, at some time in the future, regain their old rank.

CHAPTER III

ON THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH COLLECTIONS HAVE BEEN FORMED

AS a preliminary remark it may be said that collections of letters which are merely replies to requests for the autographs of the persons addressed are not recognized as having any place in the sphere of legitimate collecting and are practically without interest or pecuniary value. As W. S. Walsh says, in his "Handy-Book of Literary Curiosities": "Legitimate collectors limit their fad to the serious collection of autographs that are in the market. They look down with scorn upon the amateurs who beg signatures that may be had for the asking. It is the latter, indeed, who have brought the autograph-hunter into disrepute. They are a sore trial to the patience and the morality of statesmen and men of letters, who are apt to become ferociously and even blasphemously contemptuous."

From the beginning of the taste for gathering autographs, most of the notable collections have been formed by men of education, refinement, and prominence; and, as a natural consequence, the ways they have followed in pursuing their hobby have been such as were in complete accord with the highest standards of propriety. Their acquisitions, prior to the time when the commerce in autographs commenced, were almost exclusively by the gift of masses of letters and manuscripts which had accumulated, for many generations, in the archives of families of ancient or noble lineage. When, in the early part of the 19th century, a large and steady increase in the number of collectors began to manifest itself, a legitimate business in the purchase and sale of autographs was developed; and men of repute formed their collections by the gradual acquisition, either by purchase, gift, or exchange, of the names they wanted. At a later day, a number of men from whom better things might have been expected, resorted to methods which, in varying degrees, were discreditable. To some of these attention will now be directed.

One of the best known and most successful of the earlier American collectors obtained a great part of the numerous letters that formed his series of Cabinet Officers, Governors of States, and U. S. Senators, by writing to the men who were holding or had held these

positions, and asking for the date of their election or appointment to the particular office, the time when the duties of the position were assumed, etc. His custom—as he unblushingly stated it to a brother collector who was seeking the same kind of material—was to precede the letter of request for information with one expressing regret that no answer had been received to an inquiry contained in a letter written on a given date; *no such letter having been written*. He would then get a reply, saying that the letter [never written] had not come to hand; and that, if the inquiry were repeated, the information would, if possible, be given. Thereupon, a second letter was written, stating the particular information desired. Of course, it was answered; and thus, as this collector said, “I got two letters, instead of one, from each person addressed, and so acquired a good deal of material for exchange.” How he could consider such conduct as entirely honorable is something that is not easy to understand. But even after obtaining two letters from his unfortunate victim he was not content to leave him without further annoyance. The man who had courteously replied to requests which were made under false pretence was then importuned, in a way which the writer supposed would flatter his vanity, for letters of prominent persons who had been his correspondents; and this appeal brought many hundreds

of autographs to his collection. He carried his boldness so far as to ask all the American poets, from the most eminent down to those of mediocre rank, for full autograph copies of one or more of their best known poems; and, strange to say, the poem was almost always sent *entire*.

In "The Archivist" for July, 1889, there is an article entitled "Pseudo Autograph Collectors," which says: "We have seen recorded lately in one of our journals the various devices by which *pseudo* collectors endeavor to obtain the autographs of eminent contemporary men and women. . . . Letters are now written to authors in praise of their works, and for an explanation of some particular passage, etc. Artists are requested to give an estimate for a certain-sized picture on a given subject, and many ingenious methods are adopted, by flattery and otherwise, to obtain the coveted epistle. A genuine autograph collector does not stoop to such methods for enriching his store. The following story will show how successful an imposter was in duping some of the principal men of the day. Thirty-five years ago there was a young Frenchman [we believe his real name was Ludovic Picard] who, under various aliases, addressed himself to nearly every distinguished name in Europe, not for any pecuniary assistance, ah no! he had grown sick

of life and thought seriously of quitting it. . . . He was one of the odious race of the unappreciated; at one time an unfortunate and neglected artist, at another a poet or musician, whom the world had used ill, and driven to despair. Could the recipient of the letter give him any philosophical reason why he should not blow his brains out, etc. . . . But he always informed those to whom he wrote that he would stay his hand from committing any rash act until he had received their valuable counsel and advice. In this way he received some hundreds of communications in response to his pathetic appeal, some in anger, others in jest, but by far the greater number written in sympathy for his wretched and forlorn condition and using every argument to dissuade him from laying violent hands on himself. It is a pity so much rose-water should have been poured over such a reptile; as these eloquent arguments and homilies were never read, but when received were sent at once to a well-known autograph dealer of the Faubourg Saint Germain and converted into ready cash, which the recipient dissipated upon his vagabond amours or at the counter of an *auberge*. . . . In this way he succeeded in extracting letters from Béranger, Heine, Georges Sand, Montalembert, Dumas, Eugène Sue, Jules Janin, Xavier de Maistre, Lacordaire, Espartero, and Charles Dickens.

The letter of Dickens was particularly sympathetic, and begged him to be courageous and to bear the ills that beset so many people in this life. . . . With this imposter all went merry as a marriage bell for some time, until by merest chance he was detected by Jules Sandeau, the novelist, who had received one of these pressing appeals. Instead of answering it by letter, like a true Samaritan he thought he would go and see 'Miserrimus' himself, and try what could be done to help him upon the spot. He accordingly went to Grenelle, from which suburb these despairing appeals were addressed. After a great deal of trouble, the *soi-disant* suicide was discovered carousing with some boon companions at a neighboring *cabaret*, and preparing to draw up fresh leases of his life in the shape of more pathetic circulars. On his return to Paris M. Sandeau lost no time in communicating with the press and exposing the whole imposture."

In the month of May, 1899, there was sold at auction, in Philadelphia, the collection of autograph letters of Confederate and Union Generals in the Civil War, of the persons who held official positions under the Confederate Government, and of a number of miscellaneous names of other periods, that had been formed by Mr. Belmont Perry, a lawyer of Woodbury, N. J., during the thirty-five years preceding the sale.

The mode of formation of the greater part of this collection was exposed when the papers were placed on sale. It appears that, shortly after the close of the Civil War, Mr. Perry resolved to attempt to gather autograph letters of all the generals who had served on either side, and of all other prominent Confederate characters. At this time, by far the greater part of these men were living, and it was easy to communicate with them by letter; the only trouble being that incident to ascertaining their addresses. Rightly supposing that an ordinary request for the autograph of the person addressed would meet with a limited and an unsatisfactory response, he determined to pose as an historian. He represented himself to the ex-Confederates who were living, and to the families of those who were dead, as having commenced the preparation of a history of the war, in which full justice was to be done to the part taken by those who were engaged on the Southern side; and that, for the accomplishment of this purpose, he desired to obtain, from living generals, autograph letters giving their full military records, and, in some instances, autograph copies of certain short military reports that had been made by them while in the field. The families of the deceased generals were asked to give, *or lend*, any letter or letters in their possession, written during the war, that contained inter-

esting information. In addressing surviving *Union* generals, and the families of those who were no longer living, he adopted the same tactics; except that he then became the prospective author of a history of the war in which the part taken by all *Union* generals was to be fully shown, so that no name should fail to receive proper notice in the pages of his book. Thus representing the project he had in hand, his requests met with a very large response. The pitiful side of the case, and that which subjects it to severe condemnation, lies in the fact that, in a number of instances, the widows of deceased generals sent him letters upon the express condition *that they should be returned after they had been copied*. One widow wrote several times, begging for the return of the treasured letter of her husband which was the only one she had. Subsequent correspondence which Mr. Perry had, unfortunately for himself, failed to destroy, showed that no attention was paid to these earnest requests for the return of the letters so lent; and they were included in the sale catalogue.

A large and interesting collection of autographs which was sold at auction not many years ago was formed, in part, in a way that merits a very pronounced disapproval. The collector in question held an important office which gave him access to the Civil War cor-

respondence of the Adjutant-General of one of the leading States. From this source he obtained thousands of letters of Generals, addressed to the Governor or Adjutant-General of the State, on the subject of regimental appointments; and, after reserving as many of these as he wanted for his own use, the remainder were exchanged for other names needed or were sold.

A few years afterwards, when his collection had become large and he was endeavoring to complete all the different American series, he conceived the idea that some of the rare and much sought for names might be discovered among the papers filed in the offices of Prothonotaries, Sheriffs, Registers of Wills, and other County offices, as well as in the correspondence preserved among State records. Diligent search rewarded him most bountifully. He found in one public office, and was allowed to take, as many as fifty, or more, official autograph documents signed of one of the members of the Congress of 1774 whose signature was so rare that the only example of it ever offered for sale had commanded the price of \$200. A number of these documents, when placed in the hands of dealers, were greedily taken at \$100 apiece, each purchaser supposing he had secured a great rarity. When, after a time, the market became glutted with them, their price fell to \$15, with few or no takers.

The offices of the Prothonotaries of the Courts in several States yielded, in like manner, quantities of legal papers in the handwriting of men who were lawyers by profession, and who had been signers of the Declaration of Independence, members of the Continental Congress, or had held other public positions during the Revolutionary contest. Many names that had heretofore been very rare and high priced became, after the market demand had been satisfied at large prices, practically unsalable on account of the huge supply.

Visits were paid to the Capitols of two Southern States; and permission was given to take, from the papers remaining on file in the offices of the Governor and the Secretary of State, whatever was wanted.

If this over-zealous collector had limited himself to taking a single specimen only, of any particular name, for his own use, the criticism attaching to his conduct would be much milder; but when whole bundles of letters or documents of one man were taken from a public office, to be sold or used in exchange, a more pronounced disapproval is deserved.

The last instance that will be given of highly improper ways of forming collections of autographs is that of Ben W. Austin, of Sioux City, Iowa; whose bare-

faced audacity almost passes belief. Some time about the year 1875, Mr. Austin commenced the formation of his collection by writing to noted people, requesting their autographs. The measure of his success is told in the following article which appeared, on Dec. 14, 1884, in "The Sunday Telegram," of Sioux City. "One of the most extensive and valuable collections of autographs in this country is that possessed by Mr. Ben W. Austin of this city. It is only by the most indefatigable effort, and at great expense, that Mr. Austin has been able, in nine years, to make this collection. . . . It has cost him for postage, etc., at least \$2000, and would easily bring, if sold to a connoisseur in the interesting art, \$10,000. Some idea of the constant study and work required in collecting his 3000 or more autographs may be had when it is known that during 1883 Mr. Austin wrote 2181 letters containing requests for autographs, and during 1884, when he had not so much time as last year, he wrote 1314 letters. The autographs include those of noted people and men of rank from all quarters of the globe. They are in almost all known languages. . . . This grand collection is not only a credit to Mr. Austin, whose enterprise and energy have secured such souvenirs, but to Sioux City as well. Mr. Austin is well known among the most famous collectors, and many letters

express surprise that he, in this 'remote spot,' should take such an interest in these things."

In 1884 or 1885 he devised a new plan for obtaining the covered autographs of noted living people, in order that he might increase—if such a thing were possible—his reputation as *one of the most famous collectors!!* He founded an imaginary Society, to which he gave the imposing title of "The Northwestern Literary and Historical Society," and of which he made himself the imaginary Secretary, with an imaginary George D. Chester, D.D., LL.D., as President. Equipped with the requisite seal and with suitable stationery, he proceeded, in his capacity of Secretary, to write to men of note in all countries, informing them that they had been elected honorary members of this Society in recognition of their rank in the world of letters, art, or whatever profession or pursuit they followed. The persons thus addressed, taking it for granted that "The Northwestern Literary and Historical Society" was a respectable—perhaps a notable—American Institution, and doubtless feeling flattered by the complimentary tone of the letter of notification, accepted the honor of election in letters such as might be expected from men of politeness who were the frequent recipients of such honors. After the Society—that is, Mr. Austin—had elected an honorary member, and

had received an acceptance of the honor conferred, Mr. Secretary Austin would again write to the new member, telling him how much the Society would value his photograph, to hang on the wall of its building, and how grateful it would be if he could give it—that is, Mr. Austin—for *preservation among its archives*, any letters of noted people of the period. So far as could be judged from the character of the collection which went to the auction rooms after Mr. Austin's death, these additional requests did not seem to have brought satisfactory results. Perhaps a large part of the very considerable number of honorary members of this unique Society may have become suspicious. Some of them may have even gone so far as to make inquiries about it. At all events, when Mr. Austin and the imaginary creature of his creation suffered the common lot of humanity, and passed out of existence, his belongings—or perhaps we should say those of the Society—were ruthlessly sacrificed under the hammer of the auctioneer, and the proceeds of sale, deducting expenses, were much less than the \$2000 which, according to "The Sunday Telegram," had been spent for postage.

Brussels 2 Nov 1886.
27 rue Centre Schaumbach.

Monsieur le Secrétaire.

Pendant d'un voyage en Angleterre, je
trouve votre honorable lettre par laquelle vous
m'apprenez que la Société Littéraire et
Historique de Iowa city, Iowa, m'a confié
la tâche de Membre Honoraire.

Je suis extrêmement sensible à cette
marque de distinction, et vous prie à
cette occasion de bien vouloir être mon
interprète auprès du Président et des
Membres de la dite Société pour leur
exprimer tous mes remerciements.

Agreez, Monsieur le Secrétaire, les
assurances de ma considération la plus distinguée.

P. J. Clays
Peintre L. Marine.

à Monsieur Ben W. Austin, Secrétaire de la
Société Littéraire et Historique de Iowa city, Iowa.

Autograph Letter of Pierre Jean Clays, the eminent Belgian marine painter,
written to Benjamin W. Austin.

CHAPTER IV

CONCERNING SPURIOUS OR FALSE AUTOGRAPHS

TEMPTED by the high prices to be had for genuine letters of certain men or women of note, disreputable people, skilled in imitating handwriting and having the requisite amount of literary attainment, have sought to put money in their pockets by foisting upon trustful and inexperienced collectors letters they have manufactured. While such rogues—for they can be called by no other name—have, in some instances, met with a fair measure of success, the majority of them have soon been exposed, and have learned that dishonesty, such as they were practising, could not thrive.

They have been of various nationalities—French, German, British, Italian, and, in small measure, American.

As a general rule they have limited their false productions to a few names for which, at the time, there

was a special demand. Some of their work was so good as not to be easily detected; but the greater part of it failed to deceive even those who were not experts, but who exercised reasonable judgment in considering the question of genuineness. There are many things that the worker in this nefarious field must, if he hopes to be at all successful, bear constantly in mind. The paper on which he writes must be of the period at which the letter is to bear date; the ink must have the peculiar appearance that age gives to it; the handwriting must not only, in general respects, be an exact imitation of that which is to be counterfeited, but great attention must be paid to peculiarities in the formation of certain letters, the capitalization of words, the spelling, the punctuation, the style, the literary quality, the date, the character of the contents, etc. etc. Besides all this, the way in which the letter is folded must accord with the custom of the time at which it purports to have been written, and its creases and stains must bear the appearance of genuine age. Such are the difficulties the counterfeiter must contend with when he attempts to fabricate the contents, as well as the handwriting, of a letter or document; and the greatest combination of skill and care will scarcely avail to save him from making some error which shall prove fatal to him. Where he is merely making a false du-

plication of a genuine original, his pathway is a somewhat easier one to travel.

The trained eye rarely fails to detect the falsity of an autograph. The skilled expert will, with perfect assurance, pronounce for or against the genuineness of a letter, and will give the exact reasons for his judgment. Nor can he be deceived by any of the tricks that are used to aid the acceptance of the forgery; as, for example, the fact that, in order to suggest age, the paper has been repaired after it has purposely been torn or its edges made ragged. Such experts are, of course, few in number; but, of these few, we occasionally meet with one whose skill seems to come from a sense of intuition.

M. Étienne Charavay, in his excellent preface to the catalogue of Alfred Bovey's collection of autographs—afterwards published as a pamphlet, with the title of "*La Science des Autographes*"—states some interesting facts relating to the authenticity of autographs. He tells us that the first fabrications appeared in Paris about 1840, and that they were in all respects—handwriting, style, paper, ink, and traces of seals—well done. When mingled, as they often were, with numerous authentic letters from family papers, they were accepted as genuine. Such names as those of Rabelais and Bayard—of whom genuine letters are unknown in

private collections—were thus fabricated. These spurious letters of Rabelais are dated from Italy; while, in point of fact, at the time they pretend to have been written, Rabelais was in Paris or in Montpellier. The falsity of those that appeared in the Trémont collection has been established beyond question. But the forger went a step too far. He was not content to imitate handwriting: he invented it. The genealogical cabinet of Letellier was filled with such pieces. They were well conceived and executed; but when examined by experts and scholars, their falsity was determined. The same hand, the same ink, appeared on letters of persons living in times far apart. Three names—those of Racine, Boileau and La Fontaine—particularly tempted the forger. Their handwriting was easy to imitate; the text of the letters of the first two was furnished by correspondence in the Bibliothèque Nationale; and that of La Fontaine was taken from his Fables. Many of Letellier's fabrications found their way into the Chambry collection; but they were rejected by Charavay, and marked by him as false, when he prepared the catalogue of that collection.

It is greatly to be regretted that a number of these counterfeit autographs have found their way into English and American collections. If they had first been submitted to competent French experts, they

would have been rejected by the men who bought them in ignorance of their real character. As M. Noël Charavay says, in a private letter, in which he speaks of letters of La Fontaine and Racine: "Many spurious ones circulate; but this is not easy in France, where they are hunted down. A dealer would be disqualified if he ventured to sell any such, because everything has been done to avoid errors."

Letters of Louis XVI., Marie Antoinette, and Madame Elisabeth have also been extensively counterfeited in France; while the forger has occasionally turned his attention to other names, of which he has produced either a single specimen only or a very limited number. Upon one occasion forty guineas were paid for a spurious letter of Henry the Eighth, the work of one of these men.

No account of French forgeries would be complete without the story of the famous case of Vrain Lucas; which is told *in extenso* in a pamphlet written by M. Étienne Charavay. The forger was a Frenchman of middle age and fair education who, with the most astounding audacity, and with unusual skill, great perseverance, and information gained from much reading, manufactured 27,000 pieces which he sold to M. Michel Chasles—a noted geometer and mathematician—during a period of eight years, for the sum of 140,000

francs. How M. Chasles could have been so easily and completely deceived and imposed upon is a marvel. It seems that, at one time during his dealings with the forger, his suspicions were aroused and expressed; but they were quieted when Lucas promptly offered to take back everything he had sold and to return the money that had been paid him.

A train of events led to the complete exposure of these forgeries. Prior to July, 1867, M. Chasles had presented the Academy of Belgium with two letters from Charles the Fifth [of Germany] to Rabelais. They were accepted as genuine, though their authenticity was contested by an expert whose authority to speak could not be denied; and their falsity was finally settled by the fact that they were addressed to "Master" Rabelais—a form of address not then in use—and that one of them bore a pretended endorsement, by Rabelais, of "Letter from the Emperor Charles the Fifth," whereas, during his lifetime he was never mentioned otherwise than as "The Emperor."

Shortly afterwards, the French Academy of Sciences was profoundly moved by the production, by M. Chasles, of letters written by the great Pascal to Boyle and Sir Isaac Newton, showing that he, and not Newton, was the discoverer of the law of gravitation. These letters aroused the interest of the scientific world

in England and France, and their genuineness was debated for a considerable time; but when Sir David Brewster showed that Newton was a child of less than eleven years of age at the date of the pretended letters of Pascal addressed to him, and a French critic called attention to an admitted historical fact showing that Pascal could not have written the letters, the controversy came to an abrupt end. The falsity of another letter, addressed by Pascal to Queen Christina, was demonstrated by the forger's use of certain words that were unknown in Pascal's time and by the discovery of the fact that the contents of the letter were similar to, and in large part identical with, the language of a certain Eulogy on Descartes.

M. Chasles rather unwillingly yielded to the pressure of his friends and disclosed the name of the man from whom he had obtained these papers. The forger was tried before the tribunal of the Seine on February 16, 1870, was convicted of swindling, and was sentenced to an imprisonment of two years and the payment of a fine of 500 francs.

At the trial M. Chasles testified that when Lucas first came to him he stated that a great quantity of valuable autograph letters originally gathered by the Comte de Boisjournain, an emigrant to America in the year 1790, who had perished in a shipwreck, but whose

collection had been saved, had been placed in his hands to sell. M. Chasles believed this story and bought whatever was brought to him. All of the immense number named, except about one hundred, of small value, were false. The list of his purchases is an amazing one, almost passing belief. In addition to most of the important names of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries—including Ariosto, Boccacio, Boileau, Cervantes, Dante, Labruyère, Luther, Montaigne, Rabelais, Racine, Raphael, Shakespeare, and Spinoza—we find the following: five letters from Abelard; five from Alcibiades to Pericles; six from Alexander the Great to Aristotle; three from Cleopatra to Cæsar, to Cato, and to Pompey; ten from Pontius Pilate to Tiberius; and one, each, from Archimedes to Hiero, from Anacreon, from Arcesilaus to Euripides, from Atilla to a Gallic general; from Belisarius; from Julius Cæsar to Vercingetorix; from Caligula; from Charlemagne to Alcuin; from Cicero; from Æschylus to Pythagoras; from Germius Julius to Jesus Christ; from Herod to Lazarus; from Judas Iscariot to Mary Magdalene; from Lazarus to St. Peter; from Mahomet to the king of France; from Ovid; from Pliny; from Plutarch; from Pompey; and from Suetonius.

Though, for the purposes of his forgeries, Lucas had found an ink of the proper quality, and though he

sought to give the appearance of old age to his productions by exposing them, after their completion, to the flame of a lamp, *he did not hesitate to write all of them in modern French and on paper from the mills of Angoulême!!*

As natural curiosity inspires the desire to know something about the contents of these letters, three or four of them will be given in full.

LETTER FROM QUEEN CLEOPATRA

Cleopatra, Queen, to her very beloved Julius Cæsar, Emperor.

My very beloved. Our son Cesarion is well. I hope that he will soon be able to support the travel from here to Marseilles, where I need to send him to study, as much for the good air that one breathes there as for the fine things which are taught. I beg you to tell me how long you will still remain in that country, for I want myself to take our son there and see you on this occasion. This is to tell you, my very beloved, the pleasure I feel when I am near you, and meanwhile I pray the gods to have you in their guard.

The XI March year of Rome VCCIX.

CLEOPATRA.

LETTER FROM LAZARUS, THE RESUSCITATED, TO ST.
PETER

My dear friend Petrus. You tell me you have noticed in the writings of Cæsar and in those of Cicero that one of the most important parts of the Druids' religion consists in sacrificing savage men. It is true they take in an erroneous sense this principle, that men can only appreciate the life God gave them by offering Him the life of a man. They have continued that inhuman and bloody practice until the time of Cicero. This is why he says that they soil and profane their temple and their altars by offering there human victims, and here Cicero is right in insulting a worship so barbarous, saying it is a strange thing that to satisfy for what they owe to their religion they must first dishonor it by some murder. They can not be religious without being homicides. The infamy of this horrible maxim has reflected on all the Gauls, even if it has been practised only in some places. But the arms and the conquest of the Romans have wiped out this infamy and I do not believe that it is practised anywhere now. Amen. This X August XLVII.

LAZARUS.

LETTER FROM MARY MAGDALENE TO LAZARUS, THE
RESUSCITATED

My very beloved brother. That which you tell us of Petrus, the Apostle of our meek Jesus, gives us hope that soon we shall see him here and I dispose myself to receive him well. Our sister Martha also rejoices of it. Her health is very tottering and I fear her passing away. This is why I recommend her to your good prayers. The good girls who have come to place themselves under our guidance are admirable for us and make us the most amiable caresses. It is enough said, my very beloved brother, that our sojourn in these countries of the Gaul pleases us much, that we have no desire to leave it, also none of our friends suggest it. Do you not think that those Gauls who were thought barbarian nations are not at all so, and judging only by what we have learned it must be from these that the light of science started. I have a great desire to see you and beg our Lord may have you in favor. This X June XLVI.

MAGDALENE.

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT, KING OF
MACEDONIA

Alexander rex, to his very beloved Aristotle—Greeting.

My beloved I am not satisfied because you have made public certain of your books which you had to keep under the seal of secrecy, for it is a profanation of their value; and no more render them public without my consent. As to what you asked of me, to travel to the country of the Gauls in order to learn the sciences of the Druids, of whom Pythagoras made so fine a eulogy, not only do I permit you but I entreat you to go for the good of my people, as you are not ignorant in what esteem I hold that nation which I consider as the one that carries the light in the world. I salute you. This XX of the Kalends of May, year of the CV Olympiad.

ALEXANDER.

CHAPTER V

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

SINCE the notable forgeries spoken of in the preceding chapter, a number of Frenchmen have engaged, in a comparatively small way, in the same disreputable business; but their work was poor and was soon detected.

Let us now inquire what contribution Italy, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States have made to this tribe of counterfeiters. Italy has furnished its quota. Their productions—chiefly of a few of the most noted early painters, sculptors, and literary men—were so good as to pass current with many persons who had insufficient experience and who did not seek the advice of an expert. Prudent collectors must, therefore, be on their guard when considering the purchase of a rare Italian name from one who is not known as a dealer of established reputation for integrity and sound judgment of genuineness.

In Great Britain, a number of people have been diligent, since the middle of the 19th century, in plying this contemptible vocation. They have turned their attention principally to the names of Burns, Byron, Keats, Shelley, Scott and Nelson; to which, at a later date, they added Thackeray and Dickens. As a general rule—the most notable exception to which will presently be noticed—some particular forger devoted his energies to the production of spurious letters of one person only. The forger of Thackeray letters brought detection upon himself by his wretched attempts to make the contents of his productions comparable, in wit and literary style, with those of the great novelist. The Keats letters, which came from the hand of the man now to be named in connection with the Byron and Shelley forgeries, were well done; careful attention having been paid to all the details which aid in procuring deception.

In the year 1848, a young man who assumed the name of George Gordon Byron and claimed, though falsely, to be a natural son of Lord Byron, arranged for the publication of a volume of the poet's writings, supplementary to the edition published by Mr. Murray in 1832. He pretended to have come into possession of original material sufficient for this purpose. Notice of the intended publication had been given, when it

was ascertained that this pretender had been denied access to any papers in possession of the family. Thus exposed, he went to New York; where he made the same effort, but with no greater success. He returned to London in the winter of 1850, and shortly thereafter the Byron and Shelley forgeries made their appearance at an auction sale in the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby & Wilkinson. The auctioneers had received them from a Pall Mall bookseller named White, who had obtained them from the "pseudo Byron." The Shelley forgeries were admirably executed and were published by Moxon in 1852; but nearly the entire edition was taken up and destroyed after the forgery was established by the discovery that the contents of the letters consisted of copies of letters in old periodicals.

Forty-seven counterfeit Byron letters, which Mr. White had bought from their maker at half a guinea apiece, were resold to John Murray, the publisher, for £123.7.6. They were characterized as "a monument of criminal ingenuity"; the greatest pains having been taken to give them such post-marks, stamps, seals, etc., as should convey the appearance of genuineness.

Dr. Scott gives such a full and interesting account of the wholesale forgeries of letters of Robert Burns and Sir Walter Scott perpetrated in Edinburgh, that no excuse need be made for reproducing it, in a con-

densed form, in his own words: "For a period of ten years, at the close of the nineteenth century, a constant stream of forged documents issued from Edinburgh, consisting of pretended writings of Marie Stuart, Bothwell, James I., Charles I., Cromwell, Charles II., Claverhouse, the Young Pretender, John Knox, Rob Roy, Burns, Sir Walter Scott, and many other eminent persons. The culprit was a man named Smith who, on June 27, 1893, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. The mass of his spurious writing became so formidable that every large city in the United Kingdom has been almost inundated with it. And yet, after all, notwithstanding the exaggerated statements as to the ability and skill of the forger, nothing could be clumsier, more careless or commonplace, than the products of his pen. No dealer or auctioneer, no one connected with public museums, seems to have hesitated for a moment in condemning these forgeries. It appears that for documents of great historic importance, for original poems of Burns never yet published, for letters of Thackeray, Scott, and others, Smith obtained prices ranging only from 1s. to £15s. His chief patrons appear to have been Edinburgh tradesmen, Mr. James Mackenzie, a chemist and F. S. A., Mr. James Stillie, a bookseller, and Mr. Andrew Brown, also a bookseller.

In May, 1891, what were called "The Rillbank Crescent Manuscripts" were sold by auction in Edinburgh. They comprised letters of Burns, Scott, and various historical documents—now believed to have been manufactured by Smith; but the small prices realized proved that the public had but little faith in them. The auctioneer refused to warrant them. Five letters of Burns—one containing a poem—fetched only from £1 to 30s. each. In the "Cumnock Express" for August 12, 1892, Mr. Mackenzie published a letter of Robert Burns addressed to a certain "John Hill, weaver," as to an old friend living at Cumnock, about the time of the poet's marriage. This clue sufficed to expose the whole forgery. Immediately after the publication of this letter, its genuineness was challenged by Messrs. James Angus, of Edinburgh, and Colville-Scott, of Brookwood, Surrey; who proposed that it should be submitted to the inspection of British Museum experts. This offer was refused by Mr. Mackenzie, who declared he had been a Burns collector for twenty-five years; and was fortified with the opinion of Mr. Stillie, a veteran Burns student, who testified to the undoubted truth of the document, and also of others which he proceeded to publish, viz.: a "Song to the Rosebud" and "The Poor Man's Prayer," which he affirmed, and challenged any one to deny, were the

evident product of Burns. Unfortunately, however, for Mr. Mackenzie, diligent inquiry could discover no trace of any such person as "John Hill, the weaver"; and "The Poor Man's Prayer," vaunted as the pure offspring of the poet's muse, was traced to the "London Magazine" for 1766, when Burns was only seven years old. Its real author was Dr. W. H. Roberts, who became Provost of Eton in 1781. Even then Mr. Mackenzie would not admit that he was convinced. When pressed to state the source from which he had obtained his extraordinary treasures, he gave a curious history of an old cabinet purchased by him, which contained a secret drawer in which a bundle of papers were found.

Though the bubble had now burst, it was some time before the extent of the frauds was fully revealed. A lot of manuscripts presented by Mr. Kennedy, a banker of New York, to the Lenox Library, turned out to be forgeries. Some documents which had been presented to the Edinburgh Town Council had likewise to be condemned. A number of Burns and Scott letters which Mr. Stillie, already named as a Burns collector, had sold to Mr. W. W. Cadell in 1899, were inspected by several competent experts, and pronounced worthless; as neither paper, writing, ink, nor style bore any resemblance to that employed in genuine letters of Burns or Scott.

The forger—Alexander Hamilton Smith, nicknamed “Antique” Smith from his surrounding himself with curiosities of various kinds—is [circa 1893] a little over thirty years of age, has a sallow complexion, dark moustache, and small side whiskers. His expression is dull, but his manner is described as being very plausible and interesting. His education, which has been exaggerated, did not prevent the perpetration of the grossest mistakes in grammar and historic dates and circumstances. His occupation was that of a copying clerk in legal offices.

His *modus operandi* consisted in purchasing cheap folios with fly-leaves, preferring those bound in vellum, the fly-leaves and vellum being soaked and prepared to give the appearance of age. But so carelessly were the forgeries perpetrated that the ink of all the manuscripts, whether centuries old or of quite recent date, was almost the same, and whole batches of letters dating from 1757 to 1858, and bearing the names of such different persons as Edmund Burke, Gen. Abercromby, Robert Burns, Grattan, Thackeray, and Sir Walter Scott, began and concluded in the same words. All the documents were evidently done by the same hand; the letters were usually very brief, and were laboured and clumsy imitations. No care had been taken to pro-

cure paper such as the supposed writers were in the habit of using. That, for example, used for the Burns forgeries was coarse, rough, and bore the appearance of having been extracted from books. The poems were written on two kinds of paper—one modern cartridge, the other of a bluish colour, of a coarse make and glossy, like that used for making legal drafts, quite unlike any ever used by the poet. The aspect of age was given by washing or soaking with some yellow substance, and the soiling and worn appearance was done very artificially by drawing the paper across a wet, dirty surface. All the pretended signatures were evidently copied from one model. The subscription, “I remain,” usually found in these letters, was very unusual with Burns. One of the verses ascribed to Burns was Pope’s.

The Sir Walter Scott letters showed only a superficial resemblance to his hand. They were not written on letter-paper, as was Scott’s method, but on coarse paper artificially tinted; and they were folded in a manner different from the custom of the time. Four letters, dated 1801, 1804, 1818 and 1820, are all written on pieces of exactly the same size, bearing the same water-mark, and addressed to the same person. Numbers of them begin “I have your letter,” and end “I remain”; language which Scott rarely employed.

In some of the pretended ancient documents, the paper of which had evidently been taken out of old books, there were worm-holes, and these were clearly more ancient than the writing, since the writer had been at pains to avoid the holes. As Burns was an Excise-man, paper with the Excise heading was often employed, but dated before Burns was thus occupied. To put people off their guard, various endorsements were written on the backs of the pretended autographs, as if by James Hogg, the "Ettrick Shepherd," Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling," and others. The strokes of writing, especially when examined by a powerful lens, were seen to be shaky and broken.

Autograph signatures on the fly-leaves and title-pages of worthless books were manufactured and sold in great numbers.

As there are so many of these forgeries floating about, it should be remembered that Burns always wrote on large-sized sheets of paper, possessing a peculiar texture and a roughish surface, rather thick, and never glossy; that his usual signature was "Robt.," not "Robert" Burns; that his handwriting is free, bold and flowing; and that his writing at different periods varies far less than with most persons."

CHAPTER VI

THE SAME SUBJECT CONCLUDED

IN Germany, as in other European countries, the counterfeiters of autographs have, at various times, plied their busy pens with varying degrees of success.

Many years ago a friend of the writer prepared for a monthly publication containing matter of interest to autograph collectors, a short account of certain extensive and, for a time, successful forgeries which were the work of a certain Baron von Gerstenbergh, of Weimar. Somewhere about the year 1850, he began to forge letters of the poet Schiller. He entered upon his course of deception with a degree of circumspection and assiduity worthy of a better cause. Having made the life of Schiller a special study, and living in the very city where the poet spent the best years of his life, he was enabled to compose letters which bore every in-

ternal evidence of being authentic. Long practice had made him almost perfect in the imitation of the poet's handwriting, and he resorted to every possible device to give his forgeries the appearance of antiquity. Moreover, in order to make assurance doubly sure, he purchased a number of genuine letters, at a high price, in order to sell them to those persons who would be most likely to detect a forgery; while the spurious productions went to those who could easily be imposed upon. For a while he prospered beyond his anticipations. The collectors of Europe were anxious to obtain the autographic treasures he offered them, which he claimed to have obtained from certain lately deceased friends and correspondents of the poet. He even succeeded in deceiving Schiller's daughter to such an extent that she purchased from him certain pretended unpublished manuscripts of her father for nearly 1500 thalers. Emboldened by success, Gerstenbergh, who imagined himself a poet, began to compose stanzas, to which he did not hesitate to attach the name of Schiller. These were so execrable, that it was felt at once they could not possibly be genuine. The matter was referred to a number of expert autograph collectors, who unanimously decided that nearly all the papers sold by Gerstenbergh were forgeries, and at the same time pointed out infallible means for their

detection. On the 27th of February, 1856, the forger was arraigned before the criminal court of Weimar, and after a long and very interesting trial was condemned to an imprisonment of two years and six months, besides the payment of a heavy fine.

If other wholesale forgeries have been perpetrated in Germany, as may be the case, they have not gained the notoriety which would make them known to the world at large.

An American collector, whose judgment of the genuineness of an autograph is not only founded on long experience, but is largely a matter of intuition, purchased, some ten years ago, from an entirely reputable dealer in Berlin, what was believed to be a full autograph letter of Count Wallenstein, the central figure in the Thirty Years' War. It was signed with his full signature; not with the wretched sign-manual which is almost undecipherable. When the purchaser examined it, something which he could not define, in the general appearance of the letter, suggested a doubt, almost equivalent to a conviction, that it was not genuine. Thereupon he returned it to the dealer, with a request that it should be submitted to three well known experts on autographs of the period of the Thirty Years' War, and its authenticity or falsity determined by them. Accordingly, this was done; when two of the

selected experts pronounced it a counterfeit, while the third declared himself unable to speak with positiveness. Of course, the collector did not take the letter.

There remain, for notice, brief statements of the few forgeries that have occurred in the United States. In the year 1860, a man calling himself James W. Turner, and writing from Washington, D. C., made the bold attempt to manufacture letters of those Signers of the Declaration of Independence whose autographs were either very rare or practically unobtainable. He knew that but one full letter of Thomas Lynch, Jr., and nothing better than a letter signed by Button Gwinnett, existed. Brotherhead's "Book of the Signers" had recently been published, and furnished Turner with the materials for his venture. He commenced operations by sending to a Philadelphia dealer a letter purporting to be written by Lynch and signed by him and Christopher Gadsden. In view of the rarity of the autograph, he named \$25 as the price for it. It was shown to three Philadelphia collectors, two of whom were willing to purchase it if the price were reduced, while a third unhesitatingly declared it to be a counterfeit, and expressed his intention to expose the counterfeiter. Accordingly, he wrote to Turner, saying that he was collecting a set of the Signers, was in need of certain names—Lynch being one of them—

and that he would like to know whether Mr. Turner could supply him with any of them. A quick response came, accompanied by *two* letters of Lynch that were substantially duplicates of the one sent to the Philadelphia dealer, and stating that, if informed of the wants of the collector, the writer could probably furnish many of the names desired. The fraud was thus uncovered and exposed in time to prevent more than a very few inexperienced and trustful persons from being imposed upon.

At about the same time an Englishman, calling himself Robert Spring, and living in Philadelphia, where he carried on a small business as a dealer in books, autographs, engravings, etc., boldly resorted to the manufacture of autographs, as an aid to obtaining means for the support of his family. He made no effort to conceal this fact from his customers in Philadelphia; telling them that he had no thought of offering *them* anything that was not genuine; but that the productions of his pen were intended only for persons residing abroad, who were not regular collectors. As a matter of fact he frequently obtained, by traveling through the States and visiting the homes of the descendants of Revolutionary characters, considerable numbers of valuable letters which he sold at fair prices to the few collectors who regularly bought from him. Being

a most expert penman, he applied himself, for weeks and months, to practice in imitating the handwriting of Gen. Washington. When he felt that he had mastered it he would provide himself with paper of the period, sufficiently stained or darkened; and with a quill pen, using ink of suitable quality and colour, would *write—not trace or copy*—what purported to be an original letter or document, the contents being of his own composition, while he had a genuine letter spread before his eyes to guide him in his work. In this way he wrote dozens of short letters or small military documents of Gen. Washington, in which the handwriting, easy for Spring to simulate, so closely resembled that of the General as to pass current with most people. Most of his forgeries were of this one name. He tried his hand at a few other names, such as Jefferson, Franklin, and some rare signers of the Declaration of Independence, by the usual mode of tracing from lithographic fac-similes; but this work was not well done and was seldom offered for sale.

He was in the habit of sending these spurious papers, in three or four different assumed names, to members of the English nobility and gentry and to Canadians, representing himself, in various personations, as a widow in want, a daughter of Gen. "Stonewall" Jackson, in needy circumstances, and in other

characters which he thought might appeal to kind-hearted people of means. When he wrote as a widow, the letter would say that she had found the enclosed paper among her husband's effects, that she believed it to be valuable, and would the gentleman whom she addressed have pity on the widow and the fatherless and send her whatever he might think the document was worth. These appeals were quite successful, and many supposed autographs of Gen. Washington thus passed into the possession of people who bought them from a feeling of sympathy rather than from a desire to obtain a valuable paper at a small price.

Spring was arrested several times for obtaining money under false pretences; but always escaped punishment by confessing his guilt, declaring that he had never sent his productions to any persons in the United States, and by pleading that he had resorted to this line of conduct solely in order to obtain means for the support of his large family. For a number of years prior to his death he led a correct life.

Before concluding the subject considered in this chapter and the two preceding ones, attention should be called to the fact that lithographic—and, in recent years, photographic—copies of letters which appeared as illustrations in biographical or other publications have been offered for sale, sometimes in good faith, and

occasionally have been accepted as genuine original letters. Though, in the case of comparatively old lithographs, time and discoloration have helped to aid the deception, it is hard to understand how any person of intelligence and judgment could be so imposed on. Any expert would recognize their real character at a moment's glance. Among the most familiar instances of such fac-similes are Washington's well-known letter to Francis Hopkinson [originally published as an illustration in an old Philadelphia Magazine], Lord Byron's to Mr. Galignani [18, Rue Vivienne, Paris], and Lord Nelson's to Thomas Lloyd [No. 15, Mary's Buildings, St. Martin's Lane, London]. A sure way to determine whether a paper is an original or a fac-simile is to touch a single letter of a word with a minute drop of diluted muriatic acid. In the case of a lithograph or photograph the spot touched will not be in the least degree affected by the acid, whereas the ink in an original letter will be wholly or in great part obliterated.

CHAPTER VII

ON THE PROGRESSIVE INCREASE IN THE MARKET VALUE OF AUTOGRAPHS

THE last hundred years have witnessed a wonderful change in the market values of all sorts of things dear to collectors, and especially in books and autographs. If we examine the catalogues of sales made in the first quarter of the 19th century, or a few years later, we shall see there enumerated a multitude of items that would now readily bring from twenty to fifty, or more, times as much as they then did. The reason for this advance in values is not difficult to understand. In those days the number of collectors was extremely small in comparison with the present number, and they had far less wealth than their successors in after years. The multi-millionaire existed, but was rarely met with. As, from decade to decade, there were constant acces-

sions to the ranks of the collectors, and as the purchasing power of the pound, the franc, or the dollar declined, there was a natural advance in values which, when once commenced, has continued, sometimes with leaps and bounds, to the present day. There are many who think it has gone too far, and that a reaction will follow. Whether this will happen is purely problematical.

Turning our attention to the prices at which autographs were sold in the comparative infancy of the hobby, we shall find some rather remarkable records of sales in France and England, between the years 1822 and 1837, at figures which, to-day, would seem absurdly small.

Thus, in France, an A. L. S. of Barbaroux [French Revolutionist] was quoted at 5 francs in 1829; one of Bichat [the great anatomist] at $2\frac{1}{2}$ francs in 1831; one of Charles VI. of France at 30 francs in 1837; one of the Emperor Charles V. at $21\frac{1}{2}$ francs in 1833; one of Camille Desmoulins at 3 francs in 1837; one of King Henry III. of France at 20 francs in 1831; one of Marat [the noted French Revolutionist] at 7 francs 10 centimes in 1828; one of Marie Antoinette at 81 francs in 1833; one of Marshal Lannes at 15 francs in 1831; one of Philip II. of Spain at 10 francs in 1834; one of Madame de Pompadour at 17 francs in 1833; one of

Jean Racine at 39 francs in 1826; one of Robespierre at 10 francs in 1837; one of Madame Roland at 16 francs in 1837; and one of Voltaire at 4 francs in 1822.

The "Archivist" for December, 1889, gives the text of an article on autographs, written in the year 1827 by a woman who was well known in her day as an author, and who was also a collector, in which she quotes, from a catalogue of a collection for sale in London, the price affixed to each lot. Queen Elizabeth [the character of the specimen not being stated] is worth £2 2s. Charles I. is of equal value. Francis I. and Louis XIV. are estimated at about 4s. each. Cardinal Mazarin is valued at 3s. 6d. The dramatists Congreve and the elder Coleman combine with four other individuals to reach 10s. 6d. Addison is worth £2.15, Swift £3, and Burns £3.7.6. Gibbon [the historian] is valued at 8s., Dr. Johnson at £1.16, Lawrence Sterne at 2 guineas, Samuel Richardson [the novelist] at 20s., and Sir Walter Scott at 8s.

During the two succeeding decades there was a slow, but substantial, increase in prices; though they continued to be very moderate throughout the Upcott, Trémont, Donnadieu, and Dawson Turner sales. The advance in values became more pronounced, though far from excessive, at the sales of the Young and Dillon collections in 1869, and it held good during the Fillon

sale in 1878 and the Bovet sale in 1887. Still the rarer and more valuable items were not beyond the purchasing power of a man of moderate means. It was not until fifteen years later that prices began their leap to figures that seemed almost impossible; and their onward march appears to be without check.

As illustrations of the difference between the low prices of 1827 to 1859, and the current values of to-day, the following instances may be cited.

Ludwig von Beethoven [the great composer]. An A. L. S. sold at 12 francs in 1842. In 1911, at the Huth sale, an A. L. S. 2 pages 4to brought £40.

Catharine of Arragon, first Queen of Henry the Eighth. In 1851, at the Donnadieu sale, an A. L. S. 3 pages folio, to the Emperor Charles V., sold at £21. At the Huth sale the same letter brought £800.

Lord Byron. In 1843 an A. L. S. 4to sold at 80 francs. In 1916 the catalogue of Bernard Quaritch prices a similar specimen at £63.

André Chénier. In 1827 an A. L. S. 4to was priced at 20 francs 95 centimes. In 1887 a similar specimen brought 810 francs at the Bovet sale.

Queen Elizabeth. At the Donnadieu sale, in 1851, an A. L. S. 4 pages folio, to James VI. of Scotland,

brought £16. At the Huth sale, in 1911, an A. L. S. 3 pages folio, to King Henry IV., of France, sold for £365.

Galileo Galilei. In 1833 an A. L. S. was priced at 51 francs. At the Huth sale, in 1911, an A. L. S. 1½ pages folio sold for £116.

Christoph Gluck [the composer]. In 1843 an A. L. S. sold for 74 francs. In 1905, at the Cohn sale, one sold for 4000 marks.

Charles Lamb. At the Donnadieu sale, in 1851, an interesting A. L. S. 3 pages folio brought £1.15. In 1916 a similar specimen is priced by Quaritch at £55.

Martin Luther. In 1869, at the Dillon sale, an A. L. S. 1½ pages folio to the Duke of Saxony sold for £18. At the Huth sale, in 1911, the same letter produced £495.

John Milton [the great poet]. The collection of autograph letters formed by John Anderdon, Esq., which was sold by Mr. Evans, in London, in 1833, contained a long A. L. S. from Milton to his dear friend Carlo Dati, dated from London, 1647. It was purchased by Mr. Pickering, the publisher, for £14. To-day it would readily bring from ten to twenty times that price.

Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1834 an A. L. S. 4to was sold for 104 francs. In 1887, at the Bovet sale, a similar specimen realized 1000 francs.

Rembrandt [the great painter]. At the Donnadieu sale, in 1851, an A. L. S. 4to sold for £10. At the Cohn sale, in 1905, an A. L. S. folio went for 7000 marks.

Cardinal Richelieu. In 1841 an A. L. S. was quoted at 18 francs. At the Fillon sale in 1878, the price was 1000 francs.

Peter Paul Rubens [the painter]. In 1842 an A. L. S. folio was priced at 60 francs. At the Cohn sale, in 1905, one sold for 1500 marks.

Percy B. Shelley. At the Young sale, in 1869, an A. L. S. 4to sold at £7.10. In the Quaritch catalogue for 1916 a similar specimen is priced at £90.

In the United States, the advance in values has been confined chiefly to names that appear in the series of Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Generals of the Revolutionary War, Presidents, and to a comparatively few literary and miscellaneous names. In some instances it has been moderate; in others, very great. A signature of Thomas Lynch, Jr., one of the Signers of the Declaration, cut from the title page of a book belonging to him, was worth \$10 in 1860. By 1886 it had advanced to \$210 at the Cist sale; and later on it commanded a still higher figure. At the same sale a folio document signed by

Button Gwinnett sold for \$185; while a similar specimen brought the enormous price of \$4600 at the Danforth sale in 1912.

Among literary names the most pronounced advance has been in letters of Edgar A. Poe. In 1860 good letters of this poet could readily be had for \$5: to-day they are worth from \$50 to \$100. Nathaniel Hawthorne, Washington Irving, James Russell Lowell, Longfellow, Bret Harte, Samuel L. Clemens, and a few other leading poets and prose-writers, are now in constant demand at prices from five to ten times greater than those at which they were then abundant.

Of miscellaneous names, those of General Washington, his mother [Mary] and wife [Martha], Capt. Nathan Hale [the martyr spy], Major John André, John Paul Jones [the naval hero], William Penn, and Abraham Lincoln are a few that may be particularly mentioned. In the middle of the 19th century full autograph letters of Gen. Washington, with interesting contents, were not valued at more than \$15 to \$20; and military letters signed [but not written] by him were sold at \$3 to \$5. There was a plentiful supply of both kinds. Letters of his mother were, and are, of extreme rarity: yet one was bought, in 1858, for \$50, which would now be worth \$1000. Letters of Martha Washington appeared only occasionally,

but were not estimated at more than \$25—a fifth or tenth of their present value. No letter of Nathan Hale was heard of, either at public or private sale, until 1892; when an A. L. S. 3 pages 4to [not military] realized \$1125 at an auction sale in Philadelphia. For a letter of Major André, which today would be worth \$1000, \$100 was considered a full price. A good letter of John Paul Jones could be had for \$10—a small fraction of its present value. Letters of William Penn will readily bring ten times as much as they did then; and those of Abraham Lincoln have had an enormous advance.

In the series of Generals of the Revolutionary War much attention has, of late years, been paid to the character of the contents of the letters. Such as embodied valuable historical material, even though written by men whose autographs were of common occurrence, have been selling at prices largely in excess of those that prevailed thirty or forty years ago. Of the more noted names that now command a very decided increase in price, Israel Putnam, Richard Montgomery, Benedict Arnold, Anthony Wayne, Count Pulaski, Baron de Kalb, Hugh Mercer and Charles Lee may be specified. Letters of Philippe Du Couray and the Chevalier de la Neuville have never appeared in sale catalogues, and are so rare that, so

far as is known, they are not to be found except in one private collection. Baron de Woedtke has appeared once, or perhaps twice, as L. S.

As the prices obtained for autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence at the Cist sale, in 1886, fairly represent their current values up to that time, a comparison of them with the prices realized at the Danforth sale, in 1912, will indicate the extent of the increase in value. To that end the following tabulated statement is given; omitting a few names poorly represented in the Cist series:

Name.	Price at the Cist Sale.	Price at the Danforth Sale.
John Adams.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1780. \$11	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1779. \$36
Samuel Adams.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1779. \$35	A. L. S. 4to, 1772. \$31
Carter Braxton.....	A. L. S. 3 pp., 1777. \$5	A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1778. \$36
Charles Carroll.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1810. \$2.75	A. L. S. 4to, 1790. \$14
Samuel Chase.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1788. \$6	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1779. \$92½
Abraham Clark.....	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776. \$20	A. L. S. 4to, 1776. \$305
George Clymer.....	A. L. S. 5 pp. 4to, 1785. \$2½	A. L. S. folio, 1778. \$50
William Ellery.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1771. \$4	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1782. \$85
William Floyd.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1821. \$7	A. L. S. 4to, 1783. \$80
Benjamin Franklin....	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1750. \$12	A. L. S. 4to, 1776. \$375
Elbridge Gerry.....	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1782. \$7	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776. \$205
Button Gwinnett.....	D. S. folio, 1774. \$185	D. S. 2 pp. folio, 1770. \$4600
Lyman Hall.....	A. D. S. 2 pp. folio, 1787. \$36	A. L. S. large folio, 1783. \$225
John Hancock.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1778. \$15	L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776. \$175
Benj. Harrison.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1788. \$9	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1782. \$46
Joseph Hewes.....	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1777. \$28	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1775. \$800
Thomas Heyward.....	D. S. 4to, 1786. \$10	A. L. S. 4to, 1801. \$195
William Hooper.....	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1781. \$20	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1782. \$450
Francis Hopkinson....	A. L. S. 4to, 1786. \$8	A. L. S. 4to, 1778. \$80
Samuel Huntington....	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1794. \$5	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1783. \$35
Thomas Jefferson.....	A. L. S. 4to, 1826. \$4.75	A. L. S. 4to, 1779. \$50
Francis Lightfoot Lee .	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1777. \$12	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1776. \$160

Richard Henry Lee	A. L. S. 4to, 1781.	\$3.50	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1776.	\$175
Francis Lewis	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1778.	\$16	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1777.	\$125
Philip Livingston	L. S. 4to, 1773.	\$3.25	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1778.	\$280
Thomas Lynch, Jr.	Cut signature.	\$210	Signature on a title page.	\$580
Arthur Middleton	D. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ page 4to, 1782.	\$15	A. L. S. 4to, 1781.	\$470
Lewis Morris	A. L. S. folio, 1776.	\$85	A. L. S. folio, 1788.	\$100
Robert Morris	A. L. S. 4to, 1799.	\$1.50	A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1776.	\$60
Thomas Nelson, Jr.	A. L. S. 4to, 1783.	\$6.50	A. L. S. folio, 1776.	\$160
William Paca	A. L. S. 4to, 1779.	\$17	A. L. S. folio, 1786.	\$45
Robt. Treat Paine	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1778.	\$22	A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1784.	\$250
John Penn	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1776.	\$40	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1776.	\$710
Cæsar Rodney	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1775.	\$8.50	A. L. S. folio, 1776.	\$150
George Ross	A. L. S. folio, 1773.	\$9	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1775.	\$120
Benjamin Rush	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1811.	\$2	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1783.	\$95
Edward Rutledge	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1798.	\$10	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776.	\$250
Roger Sherman	A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1781.	\$25	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1784.	\$200
Richard Stockton	A. L. S. 4to, 1779.	\$50	A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, 1763.	\$235
Thomas Stone	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1786.	\$25	A. L. S. 4to, 1778.	\$250
Matthew Thornton	A. D. S. 4to, 1764.	\$3	A. L. S. folio, 1775.	\$310
William Whipple	A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1778.	\$9	A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1776.	\$250
William Williams	A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1777.	\$6	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776.	\$165
James Wilson	A. L. S. 4to, 1793.	\$4 $\frac{1}{2}$	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1780.	\$110
John Witherspoon	A. L. S. 4to, 1791.	\$4 $\frac{1}{2}$	A. L. S. folio, 1776.	\$125
Oliver Wolcott	A. L. S. 4to, 1783.	\$15	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776.	\$240
George Wythe	A. D. S. folio, 1789.	\$26	A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1776.	\$680

It should not be forgotten that the extremely high prices obtained at the Danforth sale were chiefly due to competition among a few men of great wealth who had recently entered the field, and to the desire to obtain letters written in the year 1776; a desire which had not manifested itself in earlier days.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE CONDUCTED THE COMMERCE IN AUTOGRAPHS

IN any mention of the men who have become well known and successful as dealers in autographs, the Charavay family, of Paris, is entitled to first place. Three generations of the family have, since the year 1843, not only been one of the chief mediums through which collectors in Europe and America have been supplied, but the successive heads of the business have always been considered as most competent and trustworthy experts, especially in regard to the authenticity of French and Italian autographs, and as thoroughly honest and reliable business men. Jacques Charavay was the first of the family to commence the occupation of a dealer in autographs. Coming to Paris in 1843, with a knowledge of the subject obtained from close study, and with an eye

that quickly detected want of genuineness, he issued, in November, 1845, his first bulletin of autographs for sale at the prices marked. Up to the time of his death in 1867, he continued to issue these monthly bulletins and to prepare the sale catalogues of important collections to be disposed of at auction.

He was succeeded by his son Etienne, who gained even a greater reputation than that which attached to his father. His knowledge of autographs, their rarity, value, and authenticity, was conceded to be unrivaled. His judgment of the genuineness of a paper was accepted without question. After his death, the business passed into the hands of M. Noël Charavay, who still conducts it with the intelligence, energy, and success that characterized his predecessors. He, too, is acknowledged to be an expert of high rank.

Other members of the family who followed this same pursuit were Gabriel Charavay [1818–1879], his son Eugène, and his widow, both of whom are now deceased. They issued their priced catalogues with great regularity, and had a large clientèle.

In England, the bookseller Waller was one of the first well-known dealers in London. He and his son John, who succeeded him, issued catalogues for nearly fifty years, and up to the death of the son in

the latter part of the nineteenth century. They were greatly respected for intelligent and fair dealing, and they always endeavoured to keep their prices at moderate figures, so as to encourage young collectors.

Frederick Barker and Frederick Naylor were two of the best known dealers in London in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were extensive purchasers at the various auction sales, and large quantities of good material came into their hands by private purchase. It was Mr. Barker's good fortune to acquire, in this way, the business correspondence of William Strahan, the leading English publisher of the 18th century, containing hundreds of letters of Benjamin Franklin, Sir William Blackstone, Tobias Smollett, and many other leading characters and literary lights of that day. He had a large circle of customers in the United States as well as Great Britain, to whom he was in the habit of sending parcels of autographs for examination and selection. His prices were moderate, he was extremely fair and very obliging, and his death was greatly regretted by all with whom he had dealings. Both he and Mr. Naylor issued, for many years and up to the time of their death, regular monthly catalogues in which rare and choice letters frequently appeared.

After their deaths, Walter V. Daniell, Bernard Quaritch, and J. Pearson & Co. became the principal London dealers; the latter firm, through the attention given by Mr. F. Wheeler, acquiring the leading place and issuing occasional catalogues of letters of the first importance. At a somewhat later date Maggs Bros. entered the field and have been very active in it.

In Germany the principal dealers have been Otto August Schulz and his son, Richard Zeune, Albert Cohn, Emil Hirsch, and Leo Liepmannsohn; the latter of whom, after many years of deserved success, has laid aside the cares of active business. Those who are best known to-day are C. G. Boerner, in Leipzig, and J. A. Stargardt, Karl Ernst Henrici, and Otto Haas [successor to Leo Liepmannsohn] in Berlin.

In the United States, Charles De F. Burns was the first to establish himself in this business. He began in a small way, in the city of New York, in the year 1864, and was so prosperous that, in August, 1870, he commenced the issue of a periodical, called "The American Antiquarian," part of which was devoted to a catalogue of the autographs for sale by him. For many years there was no other dealer in this country. He had a large knowledge of autographs, was an excellent judge of the genuineness of a paper, and was very straightforward in his dealings with his

customers. He would never accept a commission in excess of five per cent for making purchases at auction sales; and he would complain, in the most outspoken way, if compelled to pay, for a client, an unduly high price. He died, much regretted, a few years ago, after spending nearly fifty years in a pursuit which was most congenial to him.

William Evarts Benjamin and his brother, Walter R., first became known to collectors in the year 1886. Shortly thereafter William retired from the business which Walter has since conducted with so large a measure of success. He has an immense stock of autographs, and publishes a monthly paper called "The Collector," in which, like Mr. Wegg, he frequently "drops into poetry"; for he inherits the poetic instinct from his father, the well-known Park Benjamin of the "Knickerbocker" days. He resides in New York City; where P. F. Madigan and his son Thomas have lately established themselves as dealers, particularly in fine literary autographs, and where Joseph Sabin occasionally offers some choice letters to his large clientèle for engravings. From Syracuse, N. Y., John Heise sends out priced lists from which his numerous customers are supplied. In Boston, Charles E. Goodspeed is the leading, if not the only, dealer.

In Philadelphia few people are engaged in this line of business. The best known are Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach—who, in addition to a magnificent array of books, carries a small stock of letters and documents of the finest quality—and Dr. William J. Campbell, bookseller and publisher.

CHAPTER IX

CONCERNING SOME NOTED EUROPEAN COLLECTIONS OF THE OLDEN AND OF RECENT TIMES

THE earliest noted collections of autographs which have passed into national archives in France and England and have there been preserved intact, were formed, not for the sake of obtaining specimens of the handwriting of eminent men and women, but to ensure the preservation of the papers for historical purposes. They were, in most part, obtained by gift of the ancient families in which they had long been accumulating.

Some such collections are specially mentioned by M. Étienne Charavay in "*La Science des Autographes*." One of them was the immense collection formed in France, in the early part of the 17th century, by Philippe de Béthune, brother of the great Sully, and his son Hippolyte, with the aid of their family archives and

those of the houses of Nevers and of Montmorency. It contained thousands of original letters of illustrious personages, classified by reigns, and is now part of the precious possessions of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

After them, Antoine Loménie de Brienne, Fabri de Peiresc, Étienne Baluze, André Du Chesne, and some other literary men, joined the collection of autographs with that of books and other curiosities. But the man who, more than any other, devoted his time and fortune to the search for autographs was Roger de Gaignières. This gentleman, born in 1644, with the aid of his valet [who became his librarian], saved great numbers of valuable historical papers from destruction. In 1711 he presented them to Louis XIV., and they now form a most important part of the treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

In the same category with the foregoing must be named several great collections formed in England, in the 17th century and the early part of the 18th, by Sir Robert Cotton, Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Sir Hans Sloane—all of which are numbered among the glories of the British Museum.

The 18th century witnessed a slow, but steady, development of the taste for autographs; and the 19th century produced hundreds of votaries of the hobby,

diligently seeking to obtain letters or documents of eminent persons, not only for such historic or personal interest as might attach to them but also as specimens of handwriting.

M. Charavay gives, as the names of the notable French collectors in the early part of the 19th century, those of Guilbert de Pixérécourt, the Marquis de Chalabre, the Marquise de Dolomieu, the Comtesse de Castellane, Monmerqué, the Baron Feuillet de Conches, the Comte d'Hauterive, the Baron de Trémont, Alexandre Martin, Lucas de Montigny, Tarbé, Chambry, Michel Chasles [the mathematician], Victor Cousin, Guizot, Sainte-Beuve, Dubrunfaut [the chemist], Benjamin Fillon, and Alfred Sensier. To these must be added, somewhat later in that century, the names of Mons. La Caille—who had one of the finest collections in Europe—Victorien Sardou, Alexandre Dumas, Alfred Bovet, and very many others.

In relation to English collectors, John Gough Nichols, in his preface to "Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned, and Remarkable Personages Conspicuous in English History," says: "The preface to Thane's 'Autography' tells us that the fac-similes given in the work are from the originals which were formerly in the collections of those well-known antiquaries, Ralph Thoresby, Esq., Peter le Neve, Esq. [whose

collection now forms the Harleian volumes 4712 and 4713], James West, Esq., Rev. Mr. Ives, Mr. Bartolet, Gustavus Brande, Esq., and others. The first of these collections will be found fully described in a distinct chapter of the 'Museum Thoresbyanum.' After mentioning that he had a copy of Camden's *Britannia* in quarto, 'which I bought for the sake of the learned author's autograph,' Mr. Thoresby continues: 'This reminds me of another branch of the curiosities that I began to collect of late years, viz: Original letters and other matters of the proper Hand-writing of persons of all ranks, eminent in their generations'; of which he proceeds to give a catalogue, the names only of the writers occupying more than three large folio pages. In more recent days, collections of autographs have been formed by Sir William Musgrave [who bequeathed them to the British Museum], and the late James Bindley, the sale of whose library, in 1820, was concluded with 108 lots of autographs."

Among the names of Englishmen who were best known, in the 19th century, as the possessors of extensive collections, are those of John L. Anderdon, Esq., Dawson Turner, J. B. Williams, of Shrewsbury, Rev. Robert Bolton, Robert Cole, Baron Heath, A. Donnadieu, Sir Thomas Phillips, John Dillon, John Young, Rev. Dr. Raffles, William Upcott, and Alfred Morrison.

Charavay gives the names of a few of the best known collectors in other European countries; but, as might be expected, the list represents a mere fraction of the actual number.

While it would be manifestly impossible, for want of space, to take any further notice of most of these collections, curiosity to know something about the character of the material that, at different periods, composed them, may be gratified by the detailed statements that follow.

THE MONMERQUÉ COLLECTION

One of the earliest French collections disposed of at auction, was that of M. Monmerqué. The sale took place in May, 1837. The catalogue is an 8vo pamphlet of 108 pages, enumerating 1352 items, arranged alphabetically, but giving a very scant description of the autographs. The following names will serve to indicate the general character of the collection and the auction prices of that day.

Balzac, Jean Louis Guez de [Author]. A. L. S., 1639.
28½ francs.

Garrick, David [Actor]. A. L. S., 1767. 31½ francs.

Henri IV. [King of France]. A. L. S., 1594. 60 francs.

La Fontaine, Jean de. [Fabulist]. A. L. S., 1658.
320 francs.

Le Couvreur, Adrienne [Actress]. A. L. S., 1729. 62
francs.

Louis XI. [King of France]. L. S. 16 francs.

Mabillon, dom Jean [Pulpit orator]. A. L. S., 1697.
5 francs.

Marat, Jean Paul. A. L. S. 8vo. 29½ francs.

Marie Antoinette. A. D. S. of 4 lines on the back of a
letter. 1781. 23 francs.

Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal. A. L. S., 1658. 23 francs.

Medicis, Marie de [Queen of France]. A. L. S., 1614.
19 francs.

Mignard, Pierre [Painter]. A. L. S. 26 francs.

Paré, Ambroise [Surgeon]. D. S., 1672. 4½ francs.

Perrault, Charles [Author]. A. L. S. 18 francs.

Piron, Alexis [Poet]. A. L. S., 1755. 20 francs.

Pompadour, Madame de [Mistress of Louis XV.]. A.
L. S., 1747. 10 francs.

Prevost d'Exiles, l'Abbé [Author]. A. L. S., 1735. 22½
francs.

Rochefoucauld, François, Duc de la. [Author of "Max-
ims."] A. L. S., 1658. 47 francs.

Rohan, Henri, Duc de [Chief of the Calvinists]. A. L.
S., 1617. 2 francs.



WILLIAM UPCOTT

- Roland, Madame* [French Revolution]. A. L. S. 16 francs.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques*. A. L. S. and A. D. S., 1774. 41 francs.
- Saint Pierre, Bernardin de* [Author]. A. L. S. 11 francs.
- Sales, Saint François de*. A. L. S. 65 francs.
- Tasso, Torquato*. A. L. S., 1586. 400 francs.
- Washington, George*. A. L. S., 1797. 40 francs.

THE UPCOTT COLLECTION

In 1836 Mr. William Upcott, the assistant-librarian of the London Institution from 1806 to 1834, printed, for private distribution, a catalogue of the "Original letters, manuscript, and State papers" in his collection. In a brief preface, he states that the collection—the labor of more than twenty-five years—comprises thirty-two thousand *letters*, exclusive of manuscripts. "Favourable and extraordinary opportunities have encouraged my pursuit. The papers and correspondence of Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, J. and S. Dayrolles, Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, Emanuel da Costa, and others, were in my possession. . . . Added to these, many of the most eminent publishers kindly permitted me to select from their preserved

correspondence letters written by eminent scholars. . . . I am, in consequence, induced to believe, from the opinions expressed by many men of acknowledged taste, that there does not exist a private collection so rich in literary and historical matter." He goes on to say that he has transcribed into this catalogue only some of the leading names, and expresses the desire to see the collection preserved in one of the public museums either abroad or at home.

Ten years later—in 1846—the collection was sold at auction, in London, "under the direction of the Court of Chancery," by Messrs. Evans. The catalogue comprised 585 lots, many of which contained several hundred different items; and the sale produced the sum of £4125.17.6. As might be reasonably supposed, the larger part of the names were those of persons of comparatively little note. There were, however, a great number of lots made up of names of first importance. A few of these may be specified with some detail.

1. Letters and documents of British kings and queens. Bound in one volume.
2. Autographs of the kings of France, from the time of Philip V. [1319] to Napoleon. Bound in two folio volumes. Sold at £7.10.0.

3. Original letters and documents signed by the principal persons who figured in the French Revolution. In two portfolios.

4. 535 letters and documents of British Naval officers from 1652 to 1826; including Blake, Monk, Prince Rupert, Anson, Nelson, and many other celebrities. Sold at £10.

5. 383 letters of literary characters of the 16th, 17th, and part of the 18th centuries; the greater portion of which are addressed to John Evelyn. Including Jos. Addison, Sir Thomas Browne, Robert Boyle, William Congreve, John Evelyn, Andrew Marvel, Sir Isaac Newton, Samuel Pepys, Alex. Pope, Sir Richard Steele, Dean Swift, and Edmund Waller. Sold at £80.

6. 752 letters of literary characters of the 18th and 19th centuries. Including James Boswell, Dr. Sam. Johnson, R. Porson, and Adam Smith. Sold at £33.

7. 1279 letters of literary men of the 18th and 19th centuries. Including Sir William Blackstone, Lord Byron, Benj. Franklin, Edward Gibbon, Thomas Paine, Sir Walter Scott, Percy B. Shelley, R. B. Sheridan, and Henry Kirke White. Sold at £42.

8. 121 letters of dramatists. Including W. Congreve, David Garrick, Aaron Hill, David Mallet, Thos. Shadwell, R. B. Sheridan, Thos. Southerne, and Sir John Vanbrugh.

9. 470 letters of deceased British poets, from the 16th century to 1836. Including Sir Philip Sydney, A. Cowley, Sir William Davenant, Edmund Waller, Thos. Parnell, S. Garth, Matthew Prior, T. D'Urfey, E. Settle, Sir R. Blackmore, William Congreve, John Gay, Thos. Tickell, Alex. Pope, Richard Savage, Jonathan Swift, James Thomson, Wm. Shenstone, Wm. Falconer, Oliver Goldsmith, Robert Burns, Henry Kirke White, Percy B. Shelley, Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, Sam. Taylor Coleridge, and Charles Lamb.

10. 414 letters of actors and actresses. Including Frances Abington, George Anne Bellamy, Barton Booth, Anne Bracegirdle, Colley Cibber, J. Emery, David Garrick, Jo. Grimaldi, Thos. Hull, Dorothea Jordan, Edmund Kean, John P. Kemble, Thos. King, Charles Macklin, John Palmer, W. Parsons, John Quick, Mrs. Siddons, Tate Wilkinson, and Henry Woodward.

Among the letters catalogued separately, mention should be made of John Selden, George Fox (the Quaker), Robert Boyle, Sir Christopher Wren, Wm. Blake (painter), T. Gainsborough (painter), William

Hogarth, J. Hoppner (painter), Sir Godfrey Kneller, Sir Joshua Reynolds, George Romney, Lawrence Sterne, Samuel Richardson, Edmund Burke, Matthew Prior, Wm. Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Spranger Barry (actor), Samuel Foote (actor), George Washington, and Martha Washington.

THE DONNADIEU COLLECTION.

The noted collection of autographs belonging to Mons. A. Donnadieu was sold at auction, by Messrs. Puttick and Simpson, in 1851. The catalogue was printed in ordinary 8vo form. For private distribution, however, there were a few large paper copies, which contained a number of lithographic reproductions of important letters. The English Royal letters in the collection were those purchased at the Upcott sale. The total number of items named in the catalogue was only 1038; but many of these were of first importance in respect to their rarity, their contents, their fine condition, and the persons to whom they were addressed.

The following named are of this class. [The prices at which they sold are affixed; and the remarks on the various items are those of the compiler of the catalogue.]

Albret, Jeanne d'. Queen of Navarre. Mother of Henri IV. A. L. S. 4to, 2 pp., to Charles IX. April 17, 1572. Very interesting. £6.0.0.

Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia. Pope. A. L. S. [in Latin] as Cardinal Vice-Chancellor, to Lorenzo de Medici. Roma, Sept. 8, 1477. £1.12.0.

Anne of Austria. Queen of France. A. L. S. 4to, to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Oct. 6, 1638. £1.4.0.

Aretino, Pietro. Italian poet. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Nov. 12, 1539. £4.0.0.

Aske, Robert. Leader of the great rebellion in the North occasioned by the suppression of the monasteries in 1536. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. Presumed to be unique. £3.19.0.

Bacon, Francis—Viscount St. Albans. Lord Chancellor. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, closely written, addressed to Sir Tho. Hobby. Aug. 4, 1606. Fine and very rare. £15.0.0.

The Same. L. S. 1 p. 4to, as Chancellor, "Fr. Verulam, Ca.," Feb. 13, 1619. [From the Upcott collection.] £2.4.0.

Bellicère, Pomponne de. Chancellor of France. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio. Londres, Dec. 13, 1586. To M. de Villeroy. Very rare and of great historical interest. £8.0.0.

- Bérulle, Pierre, Cardinal.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to M. de Bouthiller. Paris, July 20, 1628. Rare. £2.2.0.
- Beza, Theodore.* Reformer. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Genève, Feb. 2, 1573. Very interesting. £3.10.0.
- Biron, Charles de Gontaut, Duc de.* Marshal of France. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, to M. de Villeroy. Dijon, Feb. 20, 1602. Very fine and rare. £1.16.0.
- Boileau-Despréaux.* Great French poet. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to. Paris, July, 6 1674. £4.9.0.
- Bolivar, Simon.* Liberator of South America. A. L. S. 4 pp. folio. Trugillo, April 2, 1824. Rare and interesting. £3.7.0.
- Borgia, Cæsar—Duke of Valentinois.* Natural son of Pope Alexander VI. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Justiciaries of Florence. Forlini, April 6, 1501. In beautiful condition, and believed to be unique. £8.8.0.
- Buckingham, George Villiers, Duke of.* Assassinated. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the French Ambassador. Newmarket, Feb. 12, 1624. Very fine and interesting. £6.2.6.
- Burghley, William Cecil, Lord.* Minister of Queen Elizabeth. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Jan. 1, 1563. Very fine. £2.12.0.

Catesby, Robert. Chief of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Believed to be unique. £12.0.0.

Catherine of Arragon. 1st Queen of Henry VIII. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio. closely written, to the Emperor Charles V. Bucdon, Ebrero 8. Very fine and of extreme interest. £21.0.0.

Parr, Catherine. 6th and last Queen of Henry VIII. L. S. 1 p. folio, to her brother, Lord Parr. Oteland, July 20, anno 35 [A. D. 1543]. Written eight days after her marriage to the king. Fine and extremely rare. £13.10.0.

Chapelain, Jean. Author of *La Pucelle*. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to M. Huet. Paris, Feb. 4, 1662. Very interesting. £1.11.0.

Charles VII, King of France. Called "the Victorious." D. S. on vellum. Mehun, Jan. 23, 1454. Extremely rare. 10s.

Charles I., King of England. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Queen of Bohemia. St. James, June 28, 1630. Very fine. [Upcott.] £4.2.0.

Charles II., King of England. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Cardinal Mazarin. Oct. 8, 1660. £4.14.0.

Christina, Queen of Sweden. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to the King. Feb. 23, 1656. £1.13.0.

Clairon, Hippolyte Claire. Celebrated actresses. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to the Duke of Aiguillon. Anspach, Feb. 18, 1774. £1.0.0.

Clement VIII., Hippolyte Aldobrandini, Pope. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Henri IV. Rome, Marzo 26, 1596. Very fine and excessively rare. £3.14.0.

Cromwell, Oliver. L. S. 2 pp. folio, in Latin, to Cardinal Mazarin. June 9, 1654. This letter is doubtless the composition of the poet Milton, who was Cromwell's Latin secretary. Fine specimen. £5.15.0.

Cromwell, Richard. Lord Protector. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Mr. Steward. Fine and very rare. [Upcott.] £7.0.0.

Diana of France. Natural daughter of Henri II. and Diana of Poitiers. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Paris, May 22, 1575. Fine and rare. £1.17.0.

Edward IV., King of England. Parafe to a warrant on vellum. "Geven under oure signet at oure Towre of London, the XXII. day of August, the third yere of oure Reign [1462]." Excessively rare. £5.5.0.

Edward VI., King of England. Signature to a license for John, Duke of Norfolk, to travel into the Holy Land. Greenwich, Junii 19, anno 7 [1553]. With

seal. On fine vellum. Excessively rare. [Upcott.] £11.5.0.

Elizabeth, Queen of England. A. L. S. 4 pp. folio, to James VI. of Scotland. No date. Very fine. [Upcott.] £16.0.0.

The Same. L. S. 3 pp. folio, to Philip II. of Spain. Westminster, Dec. 16, 1571. Very fine and of historical interest. £5.0.0.

Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Sir Isaac Wake, English Ambassador. Aug. 28, 1631. Very fine. [Upcott.] £5.10.0.

Elizabeth of France. Queen of Philip IV. of Spain. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Louis XIII. [her brother]. l'Escorial, Août 20. Fine and rare. £5.7.6.

Elizabeth of France. Sister of Louis XVI. Guillotined. A. L. S. 1½ pp. 8vo, to the Princess Lamballe. Oct. 4, 1791. Very rare. £4.2.0.

Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of. Favorite of Queen Elizabeth. Decapitated. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Queen Elizabeth. Sept. 6, 1600. £17.10.0.

Estrades, Godefroi, Comte d'. Marshal of France. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Marshal Turenne. London, Jan. 20, 1662. Fine and interesting. £2.2.0.

Evelyn, John. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to Lord Arlington. June 11, 1669. Fine. £1.0.0.

- Francis I., King of France.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Pope Clement VII. Very fine. £9.0.0.
- Francis II., King of France.* D. S. 7 pp. folio. St. Germain, Oct. 4, 1560. Fine and historical. £3.10.0.
- Frederic II., King of Prussia.* Called "the Great." A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, to "mon cher cousin." Magdebourg, Sept. 12, 1742. £5.10.0.
- Frederic, King of Bohemia.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the English Ambassador. La Haye, Mai 8, 1731. [Upcott.] £4.12.0.
- Gramont, Philibert, Comte de.* A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Francfort, Mars 17, 1658. Very fine. £1.6.0.
- Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I.* 5 A. L. S. 4to, dated from 1641 to 1660. All very fine. £1.16.0, £2.0.0, £2.2.0, £3.12.0, £6.10.0.
- Henry IV., King of France.* 16 very fine A. L. S. folio, of various dates. Some written to Charles IX. and Catherine de Medicis. Prices ranging from £1.8.0. up to £3.3.0.
- Henry V., King of England.* A request for a passport for some German merchants, on which the King has written "H. R. a vous mandoies qu'il soit fait." Fine, and perhaps unique in private collections. [Upcott.] £16.10.0.

- Henry VI., King of England.* Sign Manual to a Petition of John, Duke of Norfolk, for a passport to go out of the kingdom "in pilgrimage to visit certaine hooly places." In fine preservation and excessively rare. [Upcott.] £13.5.0.
- James I., King of England.* Letter subscribed and signed, 1 p. folio, to Henri IV. Falkland, Juillet 16, 1602. Fine. £3.0.0.
- James III., the old Pretender,* called the Chevalier de St. George. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to the Duc de Vendôme. St. Germain, Dec. 29, 1710. Very fine and rare. £4.16.0.
- Kepler, John.* Astronomer. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, in Latin, to Dr. Ph. Miller. Jan. $\frac{1}{16}$, 1630. Very rare. £3.3.0.
- Lamb, Charles.* Poet and essayist. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio. Feb. 7. 1831. Very interesting. £1.15.0.
- Le Brun, Charles.* Painter. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Bishop Huet. Oct. 28, 1666. Fine and very rare. £4.0.0.
- Locke, John.* Metaphysician. A. L. S. 2 pp. 8vo. Oates, Aug. 11, 1704. Excessively rare. No letter of Locke has appeared in a public sale except the present. £9.
- Louis XIII., King of France.* A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to the Queen. Laleu, Oct. 6, 1628. Fine. £3.

- Louis XIV., King of France.* A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to the Queen of England. Versailles, July 25, 1683. Very fine. £4.
- Louis XV., King of France.* A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. Versailles, Mai 28, 1756. Very fine. £2.
- Louis XVI., King of France.* A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to George III., King of England. Paris, Avril 18, 1792. Very fine. Written eight months before his death. £6.6.0.
- Louise de Savoie*, mother of Francis I. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Emperor Charles V. Written a few days after the battle of Pavia. Extremely fine. A pathetic letter relative to her son's captivity. £10.
- Luther, Martin.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, in Latin, to C. G. Spalatinus. Jan. 7, 1519. Rare and interesting. £16.
- Malherbe, François de.* The father of French poetry. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to M. de Bouillon; relative to the death of his son, killed in a duel. [This letter has sold at a public sale in Paris for 409 francs.] Fine and rare. £1.11.0.
- Marie Antoinette, Queen of France.* A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to her brother, the Archduke Leopold. Aug. 12, 1791. [Eight days after her arrest at Varennes.] Fine and very interesting. £5.

The Same. A. L. S. 2 pp. 8vo. to the Princesse Lamballe. Jeudi [Sept. 1, 1791]. Very interesting. £5.12.6.

Mary, Queen of England. "Bloody Mary." D. S. 2½ pp. folio. June, 1556. Fine and very rare. [Upcott.] £10.10.0.

Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. A joint letter signed by both, "Marie R." and "Henry R.", to Matthew, Earl of Lennox. Dec., 1565. The signature of Darnley is excessively rare, and a paper on which both signatures occur is probably unique. [Upcott.] £10.

Mayenne, Charles de Lorraine, Duc de. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Duc de Guise. Dec. 17, 1590. Fine and rare. £1.

Medicis, Catherine de, Queen of Henri II. of France. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. 1572. Of the greatest historical interest. £9.

Medicis, Marie de. Queen of France. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to her son. Juin 28, 1638. Fine and rare. £2.2.0.

Molière, J. B. Poquelin. The great French dramatist. A certificate, delivered by the Notaries upon the attestation of Jacques Martin and Molière, and signed by them. 1 p. folio, Jan. 25, 1664. [We are not

aware of any specimen having occurred for public sale in this country except the present, and but one in Paris.] From the Hodges collection. £10.5.0.

Monmouth, James, Duke of. Natural son of Charles II. Beheaded. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Lord Rochester. Ringwood, July, 9 1685. Very rare and of the highest interest. [Upcott.] £21.10.0.

Montgomery, Gabriel, Comte de. Beheaded 1574. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Viscount Turenne. Very rare. £1.4.0.

Montmorency, Henri II., Duc de. Marshal of France. Beheaded. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to. La Grange, May 19, 1627. Fine and rare. 14s.

Napoleon Bonaparte. Emperor of France. A full authority given to Caulincourt, Duke of Vicenza, to negotiate and sign a definitive treaty of peace with the Allied Powers, and thus to arrest the effusion of human blood and the attendant calamities of war. A document of the highest historical importance, dated Paris, Jan. 4, 1814, and signed by Napoleon and the Duc de Bassano. £10.15.0.

Nassau, Maurice of. Celebrated general. A. L. S. 2½ pp. folio, to the Duc de Bouillon. La Haye, Juin 23, 1595. Fine, rare, and very interesting. £2.2.0.

- Nelson, Horatio, Lord.* A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to Lieut.-Gen. Fox. Jan. 1, 1800. Interesting. £1.9.0.
- Newton, Sir Isaac.* A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Lord Townshend. Aug. 25, 1724. Interesting. £7.
- Nostradamus, Cæsar.* [1555-1629.] A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Fine and excessively rare. £2.9.0.
- Philip II., King of Spain.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the King of France [Charles IX]. Written shortly after the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Very fine. £5.
- Piron, Alexis.* Poet and dramatist. A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to. Mars 8, 1754. Fine and extremely rare. £2.2.0.
- Pope, Alexander.* Poet. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to his publisher. Aug. 16, 1732. Interesting. £1.12.0.
- Poussin, Nicholas.* Great painter. A number of fine A. L. S. 4to or folio, at prices varying from £2.4.0 to £3.8.0.
- Raleigh, Sir Walter.* A Petition to the Lord High Chancellor, requesting that a Commission might be issued to correct some abuses which had occurred relative to the authority given by Queen Elizabeth to Raleigh to grant licenses for the sale of wines by retail. Signed by Sir Walter Raleigh, and by Lord Burghley and Sir John Popham. £5.7.0.
- Raphael Sanzio.* The greatest of painters. A study of two horses' heads, with men's arms, sketched in

pen and ink, and having several lines of writing in his autograph. Extremely rare. £11.11.0.

Rembrandt. Celebrated Dutch painter. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Const. Huygens. Excessively rare. £10.

Richard III., King of England. Warrant dated April 15, Anno 1 [1484], for the payment of money. Signed in full "Ricardus Rex." Fine. [Upcott.] £25.10.0.

Rousseau, Jean Jacques. Several A. L. S. 4to, 2 or 3 pages, at prices varying from £1.19.0 to £5.5.0.

Rubens, Peter Paul. Great painter. 3 A. L. S. folio, 2 or 3 pages, at prices varying from £4.18.0 to £5.7.6.

Rupert, Prince. The great general. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Bristol, July 5, 1645. Fine and rare. [Upcott.] £8.10.0.

Sales, Saint Francis de. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, "a son altesse serenissime." Sept. 17, 1611. Fine and excessively rare. £4.11.0.

Salisbury, Robert Cecil, Earl of. A. L. S. 4 pp. folio. Farnham, Sept. 21, 1601. Fine and very interesting. £6.10.0.

Saumaise, Claude de. Critic. A. L. S. 2½ pp. folio, to M. du Puy. Leyden, Feb. 28, 1638. Fine. [Upcott.] £1.1.0.

Scaliger, Joseph Justus. Philologist. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to M. de St. Marthe. August 10, 1606. Fine. £1.13.0.

- Scott, Sir Walter.* Poet and novelist. A. L. S. 4to, 2pp. May 16, 1800, and A. L. S. 4to, 3 pp., March, 1802, to Cadell and Davies. Fine and interesting. Each, £1.2.0.
- Sforza, Ludovicus Marie.* Surnamed "the Moor." A. L. S. to Pandolphino. Milan, 1496. Excessively rare. 10s. 6d.
- Somerset, Edward, Duke of.* Commonly styled "the Protector." Beheaded in 1552. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the Justices of the Peace. July, 1549. Fine and rare. 16s.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of.* Beheaded in 1641. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Dublin, Aug. 21, 1634. [Upcott.] £7.7.6.
- Suffolk, Edmund de la Pole, Duke of.* Nephew of Edward IV., and heir apparent to the throne. Beheaded in 1513. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, closely written, to Thomas Killengworth. About the year 1506. Very rare, if not unique. £7.
- Tasso, Bernardo.* Poet. Father of the great Tasso. Letter subscribed and signed, 1 p. folio, to Speroni. Vinegia, Agosto 19, 1559. Fine. [From the Hodges Collection.] £1.6.0.
- Vane, Sir Henry.* Parliamentarian. Beheaded in 1662. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to William II., Prince of Orange.

Whitehall, Feb. 26, 1629. Fine and interesting. £2.4.0.

Veronese, Paolo Cagliari, called. Noted painter. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to his patron Marc Antonio Gandini. Marzo 31, 1578. Good specimen. Very rare. £2.
The Same. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to his patron Gandini. Very fine. £1.10.0.

Villeroy, Nicolas de Neufville de. Minister of State to four French kings. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, to King Henri IV. Paris, Nov. 10, 1598. Fine, interesting, and very rare. £1.6.0.

Vincent de Paul, Saint. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to M. Du Festel. Brest, Nov. 28, 1642. In perfect condition and excessively rare. £5.

Wren, Sir Christopher. Architect. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. July 28, 1675. Fine, interesting, and excessively rare. [Upcott.] £15.

York, Anne Hyde, Duchess of. Wife of James, Duke of York; afterwards King James II. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to her sister Lady Henrietta Hyde. York, Aug. 14, [1666]. Very fine and extremely rare. [Upcott.] £5.5.0.

COLLECTION OF BARON DE TRÉMONT

Louis Philippe Joseph, Baron de Trémont, was a French prévôt and an enthusiastic collector. He was

born in the year 1779, and died in 1852. His collection was sold at auction in Paris; the first portion of it in December, 1852, and the two succeeding portions in February and April, 1853. The catalogue was prepared with great care by M. Laverdet. It consists of three parts numbering, respectively, 222, 151, and 196 8vo pages. The first part comprised 1482 items; the second, 1200 items; and the third, 1337 items. A majority of the items consisted of a single letter or document; but frequently many names were grouped in a lot.

While the collection was largely composed of names of ordinary occurrence and small importance, it was notable for its extensive series of persons who were prominent in the French Revolution, and of noted French actors and actresses; and especially for the number and character of the letters of first importance—and, frequently, of great rarity—that appear in the first part of the catalogue. The following named are certainly worthy of mention.

Alençon, René de Valois, Duc d'. Died 1492. Confined by Louis XI. in an iron cage. Quittance signed, on parchment. Tours, Juin 24, 1490.

Alexander VI., Roderic Borgia, Pope. L. S. on parchment. To the King of France. Rome, Oct. 8, 1499.

- Anne de Bretagne.* Queen of France. L. S. 1 p. 4to.
To my cousin the Prince de Rohan. Amboise, May
8, 1498.
- Bassompierre, Marshal.* 1579-1649. A. L. S. 2 pp.
folio. To Marshal de Bréze. Sept. 17, 1643.
- Bayard, Pierre—Seigneur du Terrail.* The Chevalier
Sans peur et sans reproche. A. L. S. 2 pp. large folio,
to King Louis XII. Du camp de Payava, le 11^e jour
d'Octobre. With certificate of genuineness from M.
Teulet, archiviste paléographe of the National Ar-
chives.
- Bèze, Théodore de.* Illustrious reformer. A. L. S. 3 pp.
folio, to Vicomte de Turenne. Genève, 9 Mars 1591.
- Biron, Armand de Gontaut, Duc de.* Marshal of France.
A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to the King. May 24, 1578.
- Boileau-Despreaux, Nicolas.* Poet. 1636-1711. A.
L. S. 1½ pp. 4to. Paris, Samedi, 2 Juin.
- Bonaparte, Madame.* Mother of Napoleon. 1750-
1836. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. To her son Lucien. Paris.
27 Nivose.
- Borgia, Cæsar.* Natural son of Pope Alexander VI.
Died in 1507. L. S. 1 p. 4to, with autograph sub-
scription of two lines. To Pietro de Medici. Rome,
Dec. 8, 1472.

Boucicaut, Jean Le Maigre, Sire de. Marshal of France. 1364–1421. Quittance signed, on parchment. Nov. 29, 1395.

Bourbon, Matthieu de. Called "le grand bâtard." Noted warrior. Quittance signed, on parchment. July 20, 1499.

Bourbon, Charles II., Cardinal de. Proclaimed, by the League, King of France, under the title of Charles X. D. S. on parchment, 1 p. double folio. Angers, Feb. 4, 1570.

Camden, William. Historian. A. L. S. 1 p. folio (in Latin). To Jacques Auguste de Thou. London, July, 1596.

Caracchi, Ludovico. Eminent painter. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Bologna, 15 Feb. 1617.

Carignan, Thomas François de Savoie, Prince de. Great warrior. 1596–1656. A. L. S. 1 p. small folio. To S. A. R. Madame.

Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France. 1519–1589. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. To her daughter, la Royne Catolique.

Chapelain, Jean. Poet. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to. To M. Colbert. Paris, July 14, 1661.

Charles V., King of France. 1337–1380. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ p. 4to. To Maitre Giles Malet, his valet de chambre. Au boyz de Vicenez le XXI^e jour de

May. With M. Teulet's certificate of authenticity.
Very fine.

Charles V., Emperor of Germany. 1500-1558. A. L. S. [in French] 3 pp. folio. To Philibert de Nassau, Prince of Orange.

Charles VI., King of France. 1368-1422. D. S. with one line autograph, oblong 4to. Abbeville, le 25 jour de May.

Charles VII., King of France. 1407-1461. L. S. on parchment. To Charles, Marquis de Baude. Nancy, in Lorraine, le 4^e jour d'Avril, 1445.

Charles VIII., King of France. 1470-1498. A. L. S. 1 p. oblong folio. To Mon chier et bien amé cousyn, le Conte de Guyse. Montelzles-Tours, ce setiesme jour d'Octobre. *Very fine.*

Charles IX., King of France. 1550-1574. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. To M. de la Mole.

Charles, Duc de Bourgogne—surnamed *le Téméraire.* 1433-1477. A. L. S. ½ p. folio. To M. de Grancey. 11 aout.

Charles II., Duc de Lorraine. Surnamed "the Great." A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to the King. 1602.

Christian III., King of Denmark. L. S. 1 p. folio. Sept. 4, 1547. To Henri II., king of France.

- Claude of France, wife of Francis I.* 1499–1524. L. S. 1 p. 4to. Blois, August 27. To the Surintendant of Finances, Baron de Samblançay.
- Clement VII.*, Pope. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Paolo de Victorys. Florence, May 8, 1522.
- Clement IX.*, Pope. 1599–1669. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Rome, March 30, 1664.
- Coligny, Gaspard de Chastillon, Sire de.* 1517–1572. The illustrious leader of the Huguenots. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. To M. de Plancy. Blois, Oct. 2.
- Colonna, Vittoria—Marquise de Pescara.* Celebrated Italian lady. 1490–1541. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, to Cardinal de Trivulce. Lucques, Oct. 23, 1538. *Superb letter.*
- Coyvel, Noël.* Great painter. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Paris, Aug. 30, 1696.
- D'Albret, Jeanne.* Queen of Navarre. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. To Monsieur, frere du Roi. La Rochelle, Feb. 4.
- Descartes, René.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Père Mersenne. Amsterdam, Aug. 14, 1634.
- Diane de Poitiers, Duchesse de Valentinois.* Mistress of King Henri II. 1499–1566. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to M. de Beaumont. Châlons, Juin 16.
- Dunois, Jean, Comte de Longueville et de.* Called "the Bastard of Orleans." Companion in arms of Jeanne

- d'Arc. 1402-1468. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ p. oblong folio.
To Madame de Dampierre. Saint Benoit, Sept. 20.
- Elizabeth, Queen of England.* 1533-1602. A. L. S.
2 $\frac{1}{2}$ pp. folio [in French], to King Henri III.
- Elzevier, Abraham.* Printer. Died in 1652. A. L. S.
folio, to Père Mersenne. March 8, 1638.
- Estrées, Gabrielle d'.* The celebrated mistress of Henri
IV. A. L. S. folio, signed with her paraphe. To
Henri IV.
- Estrées, Jeanne d'.* Mistress of Henri IV. A. L. S. 1
p. folio. To Madame de Lannoye.
- Francis I., King of France.* A. L. S. 4to. To the
Emperor Charles V.
- Francis II., King of France.* A. L. S. 1 p. large folio.
To the Constable Montmorency.
- Frederic II. (the Great), King of Prussia.* A. L. S. 2
pp. 4to, in verse and prose. To Voltaire. Potsdam,
May 24, 1750.
- Galilei, Galileo.* The great natural philosopher. 1564-
1642. A. L. S. folio. Padua, Jan. 5, 1601.
- Galland, Antoine.* Translator of the "Arabian Nights."
A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to. Aug. 22, 1706. To the Bishop of
Avanches.
- Garcias Laso, or Garcilasso de la Vega.* Eminent Span-
ish poet. 1505-1536. L. S., with autograph sub-

- scription of two lines. To Prince de Florence. March 15, 1567.
- Guicciardini, Francisco.* Noted historian. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Milano, May 27, 1518.
- Guise, François de Lorraine, Duc de.* Assassinated by Poltrot. 1519-1563. A. L. S. folio. To M. de Tavannes.
- Guise, Henri de Lorraine, Duc de.* Called "Balafre." A. L. S. 1 p. large folio. To M. de Laussac. Oct. 1, 1581.
- Guise, Henri II. de Lorraine, Duc de.* 1614-1664. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to. To his Eminence. Jan. 28, 1655.
- Henri II., King of France.* A. L. S. folio. To Cardinal de Lorraine. December 21.
- Henry VIII., King of England.* A. L. S. 1 p. folio (in French). To Queen Catherine de Medicis.
- Ignatius Loyola, Saint.* 1491-1566. A. L. S. large folio. [in Latin]. To Nicolas de Furno. Rome, 10th day.
- James I., King of England.* A. L. S. 1 p. large folio. To King Henri IV. Dec. 28, 1605.
- Julius II., Pope.* A. L. S. 1 p. oblong 4to. To Lorenzo de Medicis. July 10, 1473.
- Lafontaine, Jean de.* Fabulist. A. L. S. in prose and verse, 1 p. small 8vo. To Mons. A. Chauny. April 29.

- Lamballe, Princesse de.* 1749–1792. A. L. S. 1 p. large folio. To the King. Paris, Jan. 2, 1792.
- La Trémoille, Louis II., Sire de.* Vicomte de Thouars. Surnamed “le Chevalier sans reproche.” 1460–1525. L. S. 1½ pp. large folio. To Vicomte de Tavanne.
- La Vallière, Louise Françoise de la Baume Le Blanc, Duchesse de.* Mistress of Louis XIV. 1644–1710. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to M. de Verneuil. March 15.
- Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of.* Favorite of Queen Elizabeth. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Lord Cecil. July 7, 1566.
- Lenclos, Anne de.* Commonly called Ninon de Lenclos. Famous French courtesan. 1615–1706. A. L. S. 1 p. small 4to, to M. de Bourepaux.
- Leo X., Pope.* A. L. S. 1 p. oblong 4to. To his brother, Pietro de Medicis. Nov. 5, 1492.
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim.* Celebrated German writer. 1729–1781. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to.
- Lorraine, Louis de Guise, Cardinal de.* Celebrated leaguer. 1527–1588. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to the King. Avignon, May 26, 1572.
- Louis VII., King of France.* 1120–1180. D. S. [in Latin] on parchment, subscribed with his monogram, 1 p. large folio. 1173. [From the collection of M. Monmerqué.]

- Louis IX., King of France.* 1215-1273. D. S. 4to, on parchment [in Latin], signed with his monogram. Aug. 1244. [From the Monmerqué collection.]
- Louis XII., King of France.* A. L. S. 2 pp. large folio, to the Emperor Maximilien. Blois, Mai 10.
- Louis XVI., King of France.* A. L. S. 1½ pp. 4to, to the National Assembly. Dec. 31, 1791.
- Luynes, Charles d'Albert, Duc de.* Constable of France. A. L. S. 1 p. large folio, to Comte de Tilliers. Abbeville, Dec. 22, 1620.
- Machiavelli, Niccolo.* Famous Italian statesman and writer. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Fr. Nigro. Aug. 31, 1523.
- Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre.* Sister of Francis I. Named "la Marguerite des Marguerites." 1492-1549. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. To Madame de Clermont.
- Marguerite de France.* Sister of Charles IX., and first wife of Henri IV. 1552-1615. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio. To the King, my husband. Chateau d'Usson, April, 1599.
- Marie Stuart, Queen of Scots.* 1542-1587. A. L. S. 1 p. large folio. Written from her prison to M. de la Mothe de Vaingfield. September 22.

Marie Antoinette, Queen of France. Guillotined. A. L. S. 1 full p. 4to, to the Princesse de Lamballe. Nov. 17.

Marillac, Louis de, Comte de Beaumont. Marshal of France. 1572-1632. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Cardinal Richelieu. Paris, March 12, 1629.

Mary I., Queen of England. "Bloody Mary." L. S. 1 p. oblong folio [in Latin]; also signed by her husband, King Philip II. of Spain. To Cosmo de Medicis. Westminster, Feb. 19, 1554.

Mézeray, François Eudes. Historian. 1610-1683. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to the Abbé Huet. Ce Mardi 4 Decembre.

Michel-Angelo Buonarroti. The grand painter. 1474-1564. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Cardinal Trivulce. Aug. 13.

Mignard, Pierre. Painter. 1610-1695. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to M. Garique. Versailles, July 15.

Molière, Jean Baptiste Poquelin. Famous dramatist. 1620-1673. D. S. on parchment, on the back of a receipt for money. Also signed by the Minister Le Tellier. June 30, 1660.

Montcalm de Saint Veran, Louis Joseph, Marquis de. Killed at Quebec in 1759. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to l'Abbé Donadieu. Au camp le 1^{er} Septembre, en Flandre, 1755.

- Montmorency, Anne de.* Constable and Marshal of France. 1493–1567. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to M. de Villandry.
- Norfolk, Thomas Howard, Duke of.* English Admiral and General. 1473–1554. Acquiesced in the execution of his niece, Anne Boleyn. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, 1527.
- Paré, Ambroise.* Father of French surgery. 1518–1590. D. S. with his paraffe, on parchment. Dec. 1581.
- Philippe Auguste [Philippe II.], King of France.* 1165–1223. D. S. with his monogram [in Latin] on parchment. [From the Monmerqué collection.]
- Pius II., Æneas Piccolomini, Pope.* 1404–1464. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to [in Latin]. Jan. 15, 1450.
- Poliziano, Angelo.* Noted poet and historian. 1454–1494. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Lorenzo de Medici. Pistole, Sept. 12, 1478.
- Portsmouth, Louise de Querouille, Duchess of.* Noted as the mistress of King Charles II. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, to M. Desmarets. Paris, Aug. 15, 1713.
- Pulci, Luigi.* Poet. 1432–1487. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to, to Lorenzo de Medici. Sept. 8, 1474.
- Rabelais, François.* The great French satirical writer. 1485–1553. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Cardinal du Bellay. Plaisance, le 13 Avril.

Rantzau, Joseph, Comte de. Marshal of France. Died in 1650. Celebrated in the Thirty Years' War. Suffered fearful wounds. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to, to Cardinal Mazarin. Aug. 8, 1648.

Raphael Sanzio. The superb painter. 1483-1520. A study of two heads of horses, with the arms of men, sketched in ink; with 5 lines in his autograph. Dated 1510. [From the Donnadieu collection.]

René D'Anjou. "The good King René." 1408-1480. A. L. S. 1 p. 4to. to Maitre Jehannot. Le flament 15 Octobre.

Rubens, Peter Paul. Painter. A. L. S. [in Italian] 2 pp. folio, to M. DuPuy. Anvers, May 13, 1627.

Sales, Saint Francis de. 1567-1622. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, to Son Altesse. April 20, 1617.

Scala, Bartolomeo. Celebrated Italian poet and historian. 1424-1497. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. Florence, April 24, 1470.

Seigné, Marie de Rabutin Chantal, Marquise, de. 1627-1696. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to [circa 1658]. Pour Mons. Menage.

Sforza, Galéas Maria Visconti. Duke of Milan. 1444-1476. Cruel and sanguinary Prince. A. L. S. 1 p. oblong 4to, to Lorenzo de Medici. Aug. 12.

- Sorel, Agnes.* Mistress of Charles VII. 1410-1450.
A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ p. oblong folio. To le Sire de la Varenne.
Le 18 jour d'Aout.
- Strafford, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of.* 1593-1641. A.
L. S. 1 p. folio, to his wife. York, Sept. 20, 1632.
- Talbot, John—Earl of Shrewsbury.* Illustrious warrior.
1373-1453. A. L. S. 1 p. oblong folio. To Chas-
telain de la Motte Seurin. Ce 23 jour de May.
- Tromp, Martin Harpertzoon.* Noted Dutch Admiral.
1597-1653. A. L. S. 1 p. folio. May 24, 1644.
- Urbain VIII., Pope.* 1568-1644. A. L. S. 1 p. folio.
Rome, Feb. 14, 1592.
- Veronese, Paolo Cagliari, called.* Eminent painter.
1530-1588. A. L. S. 1 p. folio, to Sig. Marinetto.
Venice, Oct. 27, 1578.
- Vinci, Leonardo da.* Grand painter. 1452-1519. A
paper, 2pp. 4to, containing drawings by him and
twelve lines in his handwriting.

THE DAWSON TURNER COLLECTION.

One of the most noted collections of the 19th century was that of Dawson Turner, F. R. S., F. S. A., etc., formerly of Yarmouth, England, which contained upwards of forty thousand autograph letters or documents of persons of all nationalities and in all the ranks



DAWSON TURNER

and walks of life, many of them being of first importance. After his death the collection was sold, by auction, in London, in June, 1859. The sale catalogue is an 8vo volume of 308 pages, with many plates of fac-similes. Most of the important letters were included in lots of large size; some of them being bound volumes whose contents comprised items numbering, respectively, 565, 1300, 1500, 2300, 9000 and 9100 letters and documents.

Among such a wealth of material it is not possible to name more than a few of the most prominent names to be found in the lists of the six largest series. They specify A. L. S. folio or 4to of Dr. Arne [composer], Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland [mistress of Charles II.], Robert Boyle [philosopher], Duke of Buckingham [assassinated by Felton], Sir Edward Coke, Capt. James Cook, René Descartes, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, George Fox [the Quaker], Thos. Gainsborough [painter], Sir Christopher Hatton, King James I., C. Jordaens [painter], Duchess de la Vallière [mistress of Louis XIV.], Lorenzo de Medici, Sir Isaac Newton, Blaise Pascal, Richard Porson, Salvator Rosa [painter], Prince Rupert, Paul Veronese [painter], Simon Vouet [painter], Sir Francis Walsingham, and Gen. James Wolfe; and of the following named English poets, essayists, dramatists, historians, and miscel-

laneous prose-writers, viz: Joseph Addison, Richard Baxter, Robert Blair, Sir Thomas Browne, Robert Burns, Lord Byron, Mrs. Centlivre, Charles Churchill, Earl of Clarendon [historian of the Rebellion], William Congreve, Daniel De Foe, John Dryden, Henry Fielding, John Gay Edward Gibbon, Dr. Sam. Johnson, Ben. Jonson [autograph inscription signed, 1 page 4to], John Keats, Sir W. Killegrew, Andrew Marvell, Matthew Prior, Alex. Pope, Samuel Richardson, Nicholas Rowe, John Selden, Percy B. Shelley, Tobias Smollett, Thomas Southerne, Sir Richard Steele, Lawrence Sterne, Dean Swift, James Thomson, Edmund Waller, Henry Kirke White, and William Wycherly.

In many cases there were several—three or more—letters of the same person.

The total sum realized for this immense collection, including a considerable number of fine illuminated manuscripts and valuable documents, was [what would now be regarded as the paltry sum of] £6558.

THE COLLECTION OF MONS. LUCAS DE MONTIGNY,
COUNSELLOR OF THE PREFECTURE OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF THE SEINE.

In the year 1860, the collection of the late M. Lucas de Montigny was disposed of at public sale in Paris.

The sale was divided among sixteen sessions. The catalogue is an 8vo volume of 550 pages, containing 2954 separate lots, many of which comprised a large number of autographs. The size of the collection was, therefore, very considerable. The catalogue describes the pieces with great care, and frequently gives the contents—especially of all letters of historical importance—either in full or in an abstract form.

The most notable series in this collection was that of the leading persons in the French Revolution and the "reign of terror." These were letters or documents of nearly all the members of the Convention, and, in addition, a very considerable number of orders of the Committee of Safety for the arrest and imprisonment of individuals or for setting them at liberty. Of special importance, too, were the letters—about 148 in number—written by King Henry III. of France; and those of Queen Catherine de Medicis—41 pieces—to many of her officials, in relation to the internal affairs of the kingdom.

Apart from the autographs thus named, and some correspondence of King Henry IV., the bulk of the collection was made up of pieces of small moment. Real rarities seldom occurred.

Of letters separately catalogued as A. L. S. folio or 4to, the following may be named: Charles, Cardinal

de Bourbon [proclaimed King of France under the name of Charles X.], Jean Chapelain [1595-1674], Diana of France [1538-1619], Madame Elizabeth [sister of Louis XVI.], Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma [1545-1592], François Malherbe, poet [1555-1628], Marguerite de Valois, Queen of France and Navarre [1552-1615], Gilles Menage, poet [1613-1693], and Saint Vincent de Paul [1576-1660].

Among L. S. or D. S. worthy of mention, are Charles, Constable of France [1489-1527], King Charles V. of France [1337-1380], Diana of Poitiers [1499-1556], Johan, Comte de Dunois [Bastard of Orleans, 1402-1468], Henri D'Albret, King of Navarre [1503-1555], Pierre Mignard, painter [1610-1685], Charles Le Valois, Duc d'Orleans [poet, father of Louis XII., 1391-1465], Ambroise Paré, surgeon [1510-1590], and Blaise Pascal [1623-1662].

THE COLLECTIONS OF MR. YOUNG, MR. JOHN DILLON,
AND MR. SAMUEL ADDINGTON.

A remarkably fine collection was disposed of when that of Mr. Young came to the auction rooms in London, in April, 1869. The catalogue numbered 125 pages, large 8vo, and embraced 1050 separate items, "the whole in singularly fine condition, selected with

great care, solicitude and judgment, as to historical and literary importance, from the various collections that have been dispersed during the last forty years." Among the few letters of *first importance* that space permits to be named, mention should be made of the memorable A. L. S. 2 pages folio of King Charles the First to the Marquis of Ormond [quoted in full in another chapter]; a characteristic A. L. S. 2 pages folio of Oliver Cromwell to his son; and a most pathetic A. L. S. folio of Sir Walter Raleigh, written while he was a prisoner in the Tower.

As being of unusual occurrence, or as having exceptional interest, we may also name A. L. S. folio or 4to of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, to Charles IX.; Admiral Robert Blake; Sir Thos. Browne; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, to Cardinal Richelieu [1626]; William Camden [historian]; Catherine, Empress of Russia; Capt. James Cook [circumnavigator], Abraham Cowley [poet]; Diana of Poitiers; John Dryden; Queen Elizabeth, to King Henry the Fourth, of France; Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, to King Charles I.; Henry Fielding; Jean de la Fontaine; Francis I., King of France; Francis II., King of France; Oliver Goldsmith; Sir Matthew Hale; James I., King of England, to Henry the Fourth, of France; Sir Godfrey Kneller; Martin Luther; Niccolo

Macchiavelli; Mary, Queen of Scots; James, Duke of Monmouth; James Graham, Marquis of Montrose; Sir Isaac Newton; Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Titus Oates; Johan van Olden Barneveldt [eminent Dutch statesman]; Philip I., King of Spain; Reginald, Cardinal Pole; François Rabelais [famous French author]; Jean Racine; Rembrandt [the great painter]; Cardinal Richelieu; Peter Paul Rubens; Johannes Secundus [Latin poet]; John Selden [historian]; Sir Philip Sidney; Benedict Spinoza [founder of modern Pantheism]; Paul Veronese [painter]; Edmund Waller; John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury; Cardinal Wolsey, to the Archduchess of Parma, Regent of the Netherlands; and Sir Henry Wotton.

The collection of Mr. John Dillon, sold in June, 1869, was, in its general character, very much like that of Mr. Young, and, while slightly larger, was of about the same importance. A number of its leading items may be specified; such as A. L. S. folio or 4to of Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans [Lord High Chancellor]; Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux; many letters and poems of Robert Burns; John Calvin [reformer]; Robert Catesby [chief of the Gunpowder Plot conspirators]; Charles I., to his sister, the Queen of Bohemia; Charles II., to Prince Rupert; Mrs. Susan Cibber [actress], to Garrick;

Pope Clement VIII., to Henry the Fourth, of France; Barbara Palmer, Duchess of Cleveland [mistress of Charles II.]; William Congreve [dramatist]; George Fred. Cooke [tragedian]; Oliver Cromwell; Sir William Davenant [poet]; Sir Francis Drake [D. S. on vellum]; Erasmus of Rotterdam; Henry Fielding; George Fox [the Quaker]; Francis I., King of France, to the Emperor Charles V.; John Gay [poet]; Oliver Goldsmith, to Sir Joshua Reynolds; John Henderson [actor], to Garrick; Henry the Fourth, King of France [5 letters]; Henry VIII., King of England; Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon [historian], to Prince Rupert; Princesse de Lamballe, to Louis XVI; Martin Luther; Marguerite de Valois, wife of King Henry the Fourth, of France; Marie Antoinette, to the Princesse de Lamballe; Mary, Queen of Scots; James Graham, Marquis of Montrose; Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland; Hugh Peters [fanatic and regicide]; Sir Walter Raleigh; Nicholas Rowe [dramatist]; Tobias Smollett; Thomas Southerne; Emanuel Swedenborg; Dr. Jonathan Swift; James Thomson [poet]; Edmund Waller; Gen. James Wolfe; and William Wycherly [dramatist].

In April, 1876, the collection of Samuel Addington, Esq., was sold by auction. He appears to have been a collector for a few years only. The fever had taken violent possession of him at the time of the Young and

Dillon sales; where, having ample means to distance all competitors, he bought a great part of the most costly and valuable items then offered, at prices that were considered very high. His collection was small, but very choice. It consisted of 396 numbers only, most of them containing a single letter or document. To name the most valuable of its component parts would be nearly to repeat very many of the names specified in the accounts of the Young and Dillon collections. The gross proceeds of the sale were £2151.8.6; prices having fallen considerably below those paid by Mr. Addington in 1869.

Mr. Hazlitt, in "Four Generations of a Literary Family," speaks of him as "a noted and conspicuous character in the auction rooms. A tall, imposing figure, with an inclination to stoop, illiterate, but having the keenest and truest instinct for what was worth having, whether prints, miniatures, books, manuscripts, or coins. He was a bachelor, with some £15,000 a year. He was perhaps the first to give prices totally beyond record and example; declining to be beaten by any other collector."

THE SENSIER COLLECTION.

In February, 1878, the collection of Mr. Alfred Sensier was sold at auction in Paris. He was born in

that city on Dec. 25, 1815, and died there on Jan. 7, 1877. In 1848 he received an official position under the Minister of the Interior, which he held until 1872. The great painters Theodore Rousseau, Jean François Millet, and Narcisse Diaz were his intimate personal friends. He commenced his collection at the age of twenty, and continued to add to it, with intelligence, taste and earnestness, until the time of his death.

The catalogue is a 4to volume of 117 pages, with many fac-similes, prepared by Étienne Charavay; and includes among its 782 items many of the leading names in the series of Heads of Government, Statesmen, French Revolution, Warriors, Savants, Writers, Artists, Composers of Music, and Noted Women. The French Revolution series was particularly fine.

THE COLLECTION OF M. BENJAMIN FILLON.

In 1878 the remarkable collection of M. Benjamin Fillon was disposed of at public sale in Paris. The catalogue was prepared with great care by Étienne Charavay, and is very interesting and valuable as a book of reference, inasmuch as it gives, in addition to the notes descriptive of the autographs, a great number of fac-similes. It consists of three 4to volumes, containing, respectively, 239, 381, and 200 pages; and de-

scribes 2986 autographs, all of which are choice, while many of them are of extreme rarity. It may be interesting to note some of the most important items, with the prices at which they sold.

Savonarola, Girolamo. [1452-1498.] A. L. S. oblong 4to. Florence, Oct. 28, 1495. 600 francs.

Rabelais, François. L. S. 4½ pp. folio. Rome, Jan. 28, 1536. 1000 francs.

Bacon, Francis. [1560-1626]. A. L. S. folio. "Fr. Verulam, Canc." To the Marquis of Buckingham. Nov. 28, 1619. 500 francs.

Galileo-Galilei. [1564-1642.] A. L. S. folio. March 4, 1635. Written from prison. 695 francs.

Pascal, Blaise. [1623-1662.] A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Jan. 1643. 1500 francs.

Malebranche, Nicolas. [1638-1715.] A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to. Paris, Dec. 5, 1713. 125 francs.

Newton, Sir Isaac. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Aug. 12, 1719. 1500 francs.

Louis XI. A. L. S. oblong 4to. To Duc d'Orléans. 500 francs.

Catherine de Medicis. A. L. S. 4 pp. folio. June 12, 1569. To Charles IX. 200 francs.

Marie Antoinette. A. L. S. small 4to. Jan. 31, 1775. 650 francs.

- Marguerite de Valois* [la Marguerite des Marguerites].
A. L. S. folio. April 11, 1492. 100 francs.
- Henry VIII.*, King of England. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ p. folio.
To Margaret of Austria. 1000 francs.
- Queen Elizabeth*. A. L. S. folio. To Catherine de
Medicis. 1500 francs.
- Cromwell, Oliver*. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Dec. 7, 1657.
To Cardinal Mazarin. 1105 francs.
- Marie Stuart, Queen of Scots*. A. L. S. folio. July 27,
1568. To Catherine de Medicis. 450 francs.
- Charles V.*, Emperor of Germany. A. L. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pp.
folio. June 7, 1525. To Francis I., of France. 555
francs.
- Philip II.*, of Spain. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Dec. 16,
1578. To Pope Gregory XIII. 85 francs.
- Richelieu, Armand Jean Duplessis, Cardinal*. A. L. S.
4to. Sept. 29, 1628. To Marie de Medicis. 1000
francs.
- Vespucci, Emerico*. [1451-1512.] A. L. S. oblong 4to.
Florence, Oct. 18, 1476. To his father. 2600 francs.
- Hawkins, Sir John*. [English navigator.] A. L. S.
folio. Bedford, July 11, 1581. 180 francs.
- Pico Della Mirandola, Giovanni*. [Philosopher.] A. L.
S. 3 pp. folio. Ferrare, May 15, 1492. 600 francs.
- Ronsard, Pierre de*. [Eminent poet. 1524-1585.] A.
L. S. 4to. 250 francs.

- François de Sales, Saint.* A. L. S. folio. Annecy, May 8, 1610. 145 francs.
- Balzac, Jean Louis Guez de.* [1594-1655.] A. L. S. 2½ pp. 4to. Rome, Jan. 11, 1621. 250 francs.
- Scarron, Paul.* [Comic poet.] A. L. S. 4to. 1660. 200 francs.
- La Fontaine, Jean de.* A. L. S. 2½ pp. 4to. Aug. 28, 1692. 345 francs.
- Molière, Jean Baptiste Poquelin de.* P. S. 4to. Paris, May 22, 1670. 300 francs.
- Racine, Jean.* A. L. S. 1¼ pp. 4to. May 16, 1692. 295 francs.
- Le Sage, Alain René.* [1668-1747.] A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to. 410 francs.
- Prevost D'Exiles, l'abbé.* [1697-1763.] A. L. S. 4pp. 4to. 460 francs.
- Chénier, André Marie de.* A. L. S. 1½ pp. 4to. London, Nov. 24, 1789. To his father. 700 francs.
- Ariosto, Lodovico.* A. L. S. folio. Ferrare, June 6, 1519. 350 francs.
- Colonna, Vittoria.* [1490-1547.] A. L. S. 2½ pp. folio. 150 francs.
- Tasso, Torquato.* [1544-1595.] A. L. S. 2½ pp. folio. Ferrare, June 21, 1575. 600 francs.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de.* P. A. S. [3 lines]. 1½ pp. folio. Feb. 4, 1593. 600 francs.

- Vega-Carpio, Felix Lope de.* [Spanish dramatic poet.]
P. A. S. 8 pp. small 4to. 399 francs.
- Erasmus of Rotterdam.* A. L. S. folio. Fribourg, Aug.
22. 150 francs.
- Lecouvreur, Adrienne.* [Tragic actress.] A. L. S. 4½
pp. 4to. Paris, Jan. 10, 1730. 500 francs.
- Stella, Jacques.* [Celebrated painter.] A. L. S. folio.
Rome, Feb. 19, 1633. 100 francs.
- Vouet, Simon.* [Celebrated painter.] A. L. S. 1½ pp.
folio. May 21, 1621. 130 francs.
- Mansart, Jules Hardouin, called.* [Architect.] A. L.
S. 2 pp. folio. Clagny, Sept. 19, 1677. 300 francs.
- Vanucci, Pietro. Called Le Perrugin.* [Celebrated
painter.] A. L. S. folio. Florence, Aug. 16, 1504.
650 francs.
- Buonarotti, Michel Angiolo.* [The grand painter.] A.
L. S. ½ page oblong 4to. [Jan. 25, 1545.] 500
francs.
- Titian, Vicelli Tiziano, called.* A. L. S. folio. Rome,
Dec. 8, 1545. To the Emperor Charles V. 2000
francs.
- Santi, Raffaele.* P. S. ½ p. 4to, with two lines auto-
graph. Rome, Jan. 1, 1515. 2000 francs.
- Pippi, Giulio—called Giulio Romano.* A. L. S. folio.
April 30, 1541. 700 francs.

- Cagliari, Paolo*—called *Paul Veronese*. A. L. S. folio.
Venise, March 2, 1578. 225 francs.
- Caracci, Lodovico*. [1555–1619.] A. L. S. folio. 1616.
102 francs.
- Cranach, Lucas*. [Celebrated painter and engraver.
1472–1553.] A. L. S. 8vo. 400 francs.
- Rubens, Peter Paul*. A. L. S. small folio. Rome,
April 28, 1607. 380 francs.
- Jordaens, Jakob*. [1594–1678.] A. L. S. 1½ pp. folio.
Anvers, Nov. 8, 1651. 360 francs.
- Van Dyck, Anthony*. L. S. 2 pp. folio. Paris, Nov. 16,
1641. 420 francs.
- Rembrandt*. A. L. S. folio. To Constantin Huygens.
800 francs.
- Rameau, Jean Phil*. [Noted composer.] A. L. S. 4to.
June 29, 1754. 305 francs.
- Lulli, Giambattista*. [Composer.] P. A. S. [on vel-
lum] oblong 4to. June 3, 1684. 70 francs.
- Cimarosa, Domenico*. [Composer.] A. L. S. 2 pp.
folio. April 30, 1793. 250 francs.
- Händel, Georg Friedrich*. A. L. S. 3 pp. 4to. London,
Feb. 20, 1719. 910 francs.
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald*. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to.
Paris, Nov. 16, 1777. 1135 francs.

Beethoven, Ludwig von. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. Relative to one of his compositions. Baden, 1810. 227 francs.

Ignatius de Loyola. [Founder of the Jesuits.] L. S. 2 pages 4to. Rome, Feb. 17, 1546. 3100 francs.

Reuchlin, Johann. [Reformer.] A. L. S. folio. May 7, 1518. 1000 francs.

Luther, Martin. P. A. S. folio [on vellum]. Nov. 24, 1543. 1300 francs.

Zwingli, Ulrich. [Reformer.] A. L. S. 4to. Aug. 10, 1529. 1000 francs.

THE CHAMBRY COLLECTION.

On March 7, 1881, there was sold, in Paris, a collection that was considered one of the most notable in France. It had belonged to M. Étienne Pierre Louis Chambry, a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, who was born Dec. 24, 1786, and died Oct. 15, 1871. He commenced his collection when he was a very young man, and for years was a large purchaser at all the sales in Paris.

The catalogue is an 8vo pamphlet of 90 pages, describing 674 separate items, the most important of which is an A. L. S. 1½ pages 8vo of Pierre Corneille, the illustrious French tragic poet, written to Pellisson.

This autograph—bought by M. Chambry, in 1856, at the Parison sale—is unique in private collections.

The catalogue was compiled by Étienne Charavay, who closes a short preface by calling attention to the fact that he had excluded from the sale certain letters which, in the opinion of all the experts, were counterfeit. They came from the famous genealogical cabinet of Letellier—the prolific source of so many forgeries—and included such names as Charles VII., Agnes Sorel, the Chevalier Bayard, Rabelais, Diana of Poitiers, Bonnivet, Raphael, and Michel-Angelo. He also excluded letters of Jean Racine, Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette; the genuineness of which was doubted.

The sale produced 54,900 francs.

Among the gems of the collection, the following autographs may be specified:

Amboise, Georges, Cardinal d'. The illustrious Prime Minister of Louis XII. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. 160 francs.

Anne de Bretagne, Queen of France. A. L. S. folio. 205 francs.

Anne de France. Daughter of Louis XI. Regent of France under Charles VIII. A. L. S. 4to. 205 francs.

Beauharnais, Josephine de. Empress of France. A. L. S. 3 pages 8vo. To Vadier. Paris, 28 nivose an II. 400 francs.

Bichat, Fr. Xavier. The creator of modern physiology.

A. L. S. 2½ pages 4to. 205 francs.

Boileau-Despreaux, Nicolas. The great satiric poet.

A. L. S. 4to. Paris, May 25, 1673. 200 francs.

Bonaparte, Charles de. Father of Napoleon I. A. L.

S. [in Italian] 1¾ pages 4to. Ajaccio, Nov. 7, 1784.
505 francs.

Cadoudal, Georges de. The celebrated Chouan chief.

A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. May 18, 1796. 200 francs.

Charles VIII., King of France. L. S. folio, with 3 lines
autograph. 315 francs.

Charles IX., King of France. A. L. S. ¼ page folio.

To his mother, Catherine de Medicis. 150 francs.

Chénier, André Marie de. The celebrated poet. A. L.

S. 4 pages 4to. To the King of Poland. Paris,
November 18, 1790. 1910 francs.

Claude de France. Queen of France. Wife of Francis

I. L. S. ½ page 4to. 135 francs.

Coligny, Gaspard de. The illustrious admiral. Assass-

inated. A. L. S. 1¼ pages folio. To the Queen of
Navarre. July 2, 1569. 600 francs.

Commynes, Philippe de. Illustrious historian. L. S.

folio, with 12 lines autograph. July 23, 1505. To
the Queen. 220 francs.

Corneille, Thomas. Celebrated dramatic poet. A. L.

S. 3 pages 8vo. Sept. 13, 1702. 600 francs.

- Deshoulières, Antoinette Ligier de la Garde.* Celebrated poet. [1638-1694.] A. L. S. 2½ pages 8vo. 500 francs.
- Fabert, Abraham.* Illustrious French marshal. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. July 2, 1657. To Cardinal Mazarin. 75 francs.
- Fénelon, François de la Mothe Salignac.* Archbishop of Cambray. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. Cambrai, May 17, 1717. 300 francs.
- François I., King of France.* A. L. S. ½ page 4to. April 4, 1526. To the Emperor Charles V. 100 francs.
- François II., King of France.* A. L. S. ½ page folio. Sept. 10, 1552. To the king, his father. 210 francs.
- Gluck, Christophe.* The great composer. A. L. S. 4to. April 1, 1778. 510 francs.
- Guyon, Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Motte.* Celebrated mystic. Friend of Fénelon. P. A. S. 1¼ pages 4to. April 15, 1695. 105 francs.
- Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.* A. L. S. ¾ page folio. To Monsieur.
- LaFayette, Marie Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, Comtesse de.* Celebrated writer. A. L. S. 4to. Feb. 13, 1662. To Arnauld de Pomponne. 85 francs.
- Lannes, Jean.* Celebrated French marshal. A. L. S. 4to. Oct. 14, 1806. To Napoleon I. 150 francs.

- La Rochefoucauld, François VI., Duc de.* The illustrious author of the "Maxims." A. L. S. 1½ pages 4to. To Madame de Scudéry.
- La Sablière, Marguerite Hessin de.* The celebrated friend of La Fontaine. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. To Père Rapin. 1010 francs.
- La Vallière, Duchesse de.* Celebrated mistress of Louis XIV. A. L. S. 2 pages 8vo. 245 francs.
- Lecouvreur, Adrienne.* The great tragic actress. Autograph letter (unsigned), 1½ pages 4to. Jan. 10, 1730. 480 francs.
- Lesage, Alain René.* Author of "Gil Blas." A. L. S. 5½ pages 4to. Paris, June 18, 1715. 920 francs.
- Louis XII., King of France.* A. L. S. folio. To his daughter. 500 francs.
- Marat, Jean Paul.* French revolutionist. A. L. S. 3½ pages folio. Paris, July 4, 1793. 325 francs.
- Marguerite d'Angoulême, Queen of Navarre.* Author of the "Heptameron." A. L. S. ½ page folio. To Charles V. 205 francs.
- Marie Stuart, Queen of Scots.* A. L. S. 1½ pages folio. Nov. 13, 1574. To the Archbishop of Glasgow. 1005 francs.
- Massillon, J. B., Bishop of Clermont.* Celebrated pulpit orator. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Feb. 16, 1723. 300 francs.

- Napoleon I., Emperor of France.* A. L. S. 4to. Ajaccio, June 12, 1792. 600 francs.
- Piccinni, Nicolas.* Noted composer. A. L. S. $2\frac{3}{4}$ pages 4to. Oct. 22, 1782. 105 francs.
- Pompadour, Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de.* A. L. S. $\frac{3}{4}$ page 8vo. To Malesherbes. Oct. 18, 1752. 155 francs.
- Prevost d'Exiles, l'abbé Ant. Fr.* Author of "Manon Lescaut." A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. Oct. 8, 1738. 200 francs.
- Racan, Honorat de Bueil, Marquis de.* Celebrated poet. A. L. S. 4to. Dec. 16, 1665. 500 francs.
- Rameau, J. Ph.* Celebrated composer. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ page 4to. June 7, 1758. 500 francs.
- Ronsard, Pierre de.* Celebrated poet. A. L. S. folio. 395 francs.
- Saint Amant, Marc Antoine Gerard, Sieur de.* Poet. A. L. S. $2\frac{1}{4}$ pages folio. April 1, 1648. 660 francs.
- Scarron, Paul.* Noted writer. A. L. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages 4to. 505 francs.
- Vincent de Paul, Saint.* A. L. S. 4to, 2 pages. Sept. 20, 1642. 300 francs.
- Corneille, Pierre.* The great tragic poet. A. L. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages 8vo. To Pellisson. 4000 francs.

THE BOVET COLLECTION.

One of the best collections that ever fell under the hammer of the auctioneer was that of Alfred Bovet, which was sold in Paris in 1887. The catalogue—prepared by Étienne Charavay, with a very interesting preface—is an unusually handsome 4to volume of 880 pages, with hundreds of fac-similes. It enumerates 2138 separate items, representing the leading names in most of the principal series. M. Bovet commenced the formation of this collection in the year 1869; and the earnestness and enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to the pursuit of his hobby are shown by the fact that in nineteen years he had acquired this splendid aggregation of letters and documents, many of which had previously been in the noted collections of Chambry, Trémont, Dubrunfaut, Fillon, and Sensier. The following named items will exemplify its general character.

Charles VI., King of France. L. S. oblong folio [on vellum], 1368. 92 francs.

Charles VII., King of France. L. S. oblong 4to. 56 francs.

Francis I., King of France. A. L. S. 4to. To the Emperor Charles V. 255 francs.

- Catharine de Medicis.* A. L. S. folio, 1583. To Mary, Queen of Scots. 610 francs.
- Desmoulins, Camille.* A. L. S. 4to, 1790. To his father. 100 francs.
- Dunois, Jean d'Orleans, Comte de.* Called "the bastard of Orleans." [1402-1468.] A. L. S. oblong 4to. 500 francs.
- Bonaparte, Napoleon.* A. L. S. 4to, 1793. 1000 francs.
- Sickingen, Franz von.* Noted soldier and Protestant. Friend of Luther. A. L. S. folio, 1519. 720 francs.
- Wallenstein, Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von.* The great general in the Thirty Years' War. A. L. S. folio, 1619. 200 francs.
- Garcia de Paredes, Don Diego.* Noted Spanish general, surnamed "the Spanish Bayard." A. L. S. folio, 1512. To Ferdinand, King of Spain. 495 francs.
- Galilei, Galileo.* A. L. S. folio, 1601. 690 francs.
- Cook, Capt. James.* Explorer. A. L. S. 4to, 1776. 100 francs.
- Vancouver, George.* Explorer. A. L. S. 4to, 1797. 110 francs.
- Ronsard, Pierre de.* Noted poet. [1524-1585.] A. L. S. 4to. 330 francs.
- François de Sales, Saint.* [1567-1622.] A. L. S. 1½ pp. folio. July 31, 1613. To the Duke of Savoy. 260 francs.

- Corneille, Pierre.* D. S. folio. 1663. 1785 francs.
- Scarron, Paul.* Poet. A. L. S. 4to, 1660. 300 francs.
- La Fontaine, Jean de.* [1621-1695.] A. D. S. 4to. 100 francs.
- Molière, Jean Baptiste Poquelin, Called.* [1622-1673.] D. S. 3½ pp. folio, 1670. 2500 francs.
- Malebranche, Nicolas.* [1638-1715.] A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1714. 130 francs.
- Le Sage, Alain René.* [1668-1747.] A. L. S. 6 pp. 4to, 1715. 1010 francs.
- Prevost D'Exiles, l'abbé Antoine François.* [1697-1763.] A. L. S. 3pp. 4to, 1735. 260 francs.
- Chénier, André Marie de.* Poet. [1762-1794.] A. L. S. 1½ pp. 4to, 1789. To his father. 810 francs.
- Reuchlin, Johann.* Reformer. A. L. S. folio, 1518. 1200 francs.
- Luther, Martin.* A. L. S. oblong 4to, 1526. 1000 francs.
- Hutten, Ulrich von.* Friend and pupil of Luther. A. L. S. folio, 1520. 1210 francs.
- Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim.* [1729-1781.] A. L. S. 3½ pp. 4to, 1767. 700 francs.
- Byron, Lord.* The English poet. A. L. S. 4to, 1820. 200 francs.
- Shelley, Percy B.* A. L. S. 2½ pp. 4to, 1820. To Lord Byron. 500 francs.

- Erasmus, Desiderius.* A. L. S. 1½ pp. folio, 1527.
360 francs.
- Mignard, Pierre.* Painter. [1612-1695.] A. L. S.
2 pp. folio, 1693. 235 francs.
- Greuze, Jean Baptiste.* Painter. [1725-1805.] A. L.
S. 4to, 1766. 250 francs.
- Duquesne, Abraham.* Illustrious naval officer. [1610-
1688.] A. L. S. 4to, 1661. 80 francs.
- Lenclos, Ninon de.* Celebrated courtesan. [1620-1705.]
A. L. S. 2½ pp. 8vo. 300 francs.
- La Vallière, Madame de.* Mistress of Louis XIV. A.
L. S. 2½ pp. 8vo. 330 francs.
- Pompadour, Marquise de.* Mistress of Louis XV. A.
L. S. 8vo. 300 francs.
- Corday, Charlotte.* A. L. S. 4to, 1789. 400 francs.

THE COLLECTION OF COUNT PAAR.

The collection of Ludwig, Count Paar, which was sold in Berlin in March, 1893, was said, at the time, to be of such a character that its equal would not be seen at auction for many years to come. This was the opinion generally expressed by the dealers; and the prices that were realized for the more important items, though then thought to be extremely high, would probably be considered quite reasonable to-day.

The catalogue is a pamphlet of 255 pages, with many facsimiles, enumerating 2074 items, embracing the series of Royalty, Warriors, Statesmen, the Reformation, Scientists, Poets and Prose-writers, Composers of music, Painters and Sculptors, Celebrated Women, Popes, and Saints. Some of these series—as, for instance, those of the Reformation and the Thirty Years' War—were particularly fine. The following names are worthy of special mention.

Christian II. [King of Denmark. “The Nero of the North”]. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1525. 50 marks.

Bianca Capello [wife of Francesco de Medici. Celebrated for her beauty and her adventures]. L. S. 4to, 1584. 56 marks.

Peter the Great [Sovereign of Russia]. A. L. S. 4to, 1720. 400 marks.

Philip II. [King of Spain]. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1593. To Pope Clement VIII. 200 marks.

Wallenstein, Albrecht, Graf von [the great general of the Thirty Years' War]. A. L. S. folio, 1619. 300 marks.

Götz von Berlichingen [1480–1562. Celebrated German soldier]. A. L. S. oblong 4to. 235 marks.

Hofer, Andreas [Tyrolese patriot]. A. L. S. folio, 1809. 143 marks.

- Sickingen, Franz von* [celebrated German soldier and Protestant reformer]. A. L. S. folio, 1520. 415 marks.
- Borgia, Casar* [son of Pope Alexander VI. and brother of Lucretia Borgia]. D. S. oblong folio, 1503. 150 marks.
- Doria, Andrea* [Illustrious Genoese admiral]. A. L. S. folio, 1545. 86 marks.
- Robespierre, Maximilien* [French Revolution]. A. L. S. 4 pp. 4to, 1790. 291 marks.
- Washington, George*. A. L. S. 4to, 1799. 130 marks.
- Calvin, Jean* [Reformer]. A. L. S. 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ pp. folio, 1545. 365 marks.
- Erasmus, Desiderius*. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1528. 555 marks.
- Hutten, Ulrich von* [German poet and Protestant reformer. 1488-1523]. A. L. S. 4to. 590 marks.
- Luther, Martin*. A. L. S. folio, 1519. 650 marks.
- Melancthon, Philipp* [Luther's friend]. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1552. 150 marks.
- Peutinger, Conrad* [Protestant reformer]. A. L. S. 3 pp. folio, 1522. 410 marks.
- Pirkheimer, Wilibald* [Protestant reformer]. A. L. S. folio, 1519. 335 marks.
- Reuchlin, Johann* [Protestant reformer]. A. L. S. folio, 1518. 580 marks.

- Zwingli, Ulrich* [Protestant reformer]. A. L. S. folio, 1524. 630 marks.
- Kepler, Johannes* [Astronomer]. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1613. 350 marks.
- Mercator, Gerard Kauffmann, called* [the great Geographer]. A. L. S. folio, 1577. 402 marks.
- Spinoza, Benedict* [1632–1677. Philosopher]. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1675. 1100 marks.
- Frank, Sebastian* [1500–1545. German prose-writer]. A. L. S. 2 pp. folio, 1533. 152 marks.
- Areino, Pietro* [poet]. A. L. S. folio, 1553. 850 marks.
- Mendoza, Don Inigo Lopez de* [Spanish poet]. D. S. folio, on vellum, 1452. 205 marks.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus* [the great Composer]. A. L. S. 2 pp. 4to, 1781. 420 marks.
- Buonarotti, Michel Angiolo, called Michel-Angelo*. A. D. S. of 3 lines, on the back of a document signed by Pope Leo X. 3 pp. folio, 1518. 1850 marks.
- Durer, Albrecht* [the great Painter]. Autograph document, 16 lines, oblong folio, 1518. 585 marks.
- Pippi, Giulio—called Giulio Romano* [1492–1546. Painter]. A. L. S. 1½ pp. folio, 1541. 500 marks.
- Titian* [the illustrious Painter]. A. L. S. folio, 1548. To King Ferdinand I. 1825 marks.
- Lucretia Borgia* [One of the great celebrities of Italian history]. A. L. S. folio. 1800 marks.

Colonna, Vittoria—Marchesa di Pescara [1490–1547.

Noted for her intellect, beauty and virtues]. A. L.

S. 2 pp. folio. 505 marks.

Marguerite de Valois [Queen of Navarre. Author of the “Heptameron”]. A. L. S. folio. 1050 marks.

Leo X. [Pope]. A. L. S. folio, 1492. 75 marks.

Sales, Saint Francis de [1567–1622]. A. D. S. folio, 1614. 40 marks.

COLLECTION OF ALEXANDER MEYER COHN.

Among the private collections of autographs formed in Germany during the latter half of the 19th century, that of Alexander Meyer Cohn held first rank. He was a resident of Berlin, born in 1853, and was a most energetic and intelligent collector. When he died, in 1904, he left, as part of his worldly possessions, a truly magnificent gathering of autographs. It was offered for sale at auction, in Berlin, in two parts; the first on Oct. 23–28, 1905, and the second on Feb. 5–10, 1906. The catalogues are two 4to volumes which, together, contain 316 pages, enumerating 3437 items, with very many facsimiles. The entire sale, including an important lot of modern political documents which were sold to the German government, realized a total of more than 300,000 marks.

From this wealth of material the following names are selected, as being of unusual occurrence or of special note.

Friedrich V., King of Bohemia ["The Winter King"].

A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1618. 295 marks.

Friedrich Wilhelm. The great Elector of Brandenburg.

A. L. S. folio, 1671. 560 marks.

Catharine of Aragon. Queen of Henry VIII. L. S. folio, 1531. 1150 marks.

Edward VI., King of England. D. S., 1548. 1150 marks.

Napoleon Bonaparte. A. L. S. 1½ pages folio, 1796. 2510 marks.

William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. [Called "the Silent."] A. L. S. 4 pages folio, 1561. To Count Egmont. 405 marks.

Catherine II., Empress of Russia. A. L. S. 4to, 1760. 400 marks.

Desmoulins, Camille. A. L. S. 4to. An. III. 411 marks.

Brant, Sebastian [Writer]. A. L. S. folio, 1505. 440 marks.

Luther, Martin. A. L. S. folio, 1525. 1400 marks.

Goethe, Johann W. von. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1780. 801 marks.

- Grillparzer, Franz.* Dramatist. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1819. 551 marks.
- Kant, Immanuel.* Philosopher. A. L. S. 4to, 1770. 335 marks.
- Kleist, Heinrich von.* Poet. A. L. S. 4to, 1810. 490 marks.
- Mendelssohn, Moses.* Philosopher. A. L. S. 4to, 1779. 255 marks.
- Danneker, Johann Heinrich von.* Sculptor. A. L. S. 4to, 1797. 715 marks.
- Chénier, Andre Marie de.* Poet. A. L. S. 4to, 1789. 780 marks.
- La Fontaine, Jean de.* A. L. S. 3 pages 8vo, 1656. 600 marks.
- Le Sage, Alain René* [1668–1747]. A. L. S. 6 pages 4to, 1715. 955 marks.
- Spinoza, Benedict de* [1632–1677]. Eminent philosopher. A. L. S. 4to, 1675. 1175 marks.
- Calderon de la Barca, Don Pedro.* Eminent Spanish poet. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1635. 1410 marks.
- Cranach, Lucas.* Eminent painter. A. L. S. folio, 1538. 810 marks.
- Jordaens, Jakob.* Painter. A. L. S. folio, 1649. 1150 marks.
- Rembrandt.* The great painter. A. L. S. folio, 1639. 7000 marks.

- Rubens, Peter Paul.* A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1627. 1500 marks.
- Raphael.* The illustrious painter. A. D. S. [2 lines] folio, 1514. 1000 marks.
- Titian.* The great painter. A. L. S. folio, 1548. 1910 marks.
- Gluck, Christoph Willibald.* Composer of music. A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1769. 4000 marks.
- Lasso, Orlando* [1532–1594]. Composer of music. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. 2050 marks.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus.* A. L. S. 4to, 1788. 1105 marks.

GEIBEL AND HERZ COLLECTIONS

In 1911, the collections of Dr. Carl Geibel, of Leipzig, and Carl Herz v. Hertenried, of Vienna, were sold at auction in Leipzig. They were remarkable chiefly for letters of men noted in connection with the Reformation, and of some of the great painters and composers of music. The following names may be mentioned as among those that commanded the highest prices:

- Berlichingen, Götz von* [1480–1562]. A. L. S. 4to. 580 marks.
- Eck, Johann Maier* [1486–1543]. A. L. S. folio. 720 marks.

Erasmus, Desiderius [1467–1536]. A. L. S. folio. 810 marks.

Luther, Martin. A. L. S. 4½ pages folio. 102,000 marks.

[Note.—This letter was bought for J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York banker, who presented it to the German Kaiser. It was written to the Emperor Charles V., defending the position he [Luther] had taken at the Diet of Worms. Its contents were such that no one dared to deliver it to the Emperor. It is safe to say that such an enormous price was never before paid for any autograph.]

Bora, Katharina von [Luther's wife]. A. L. S. 1½ pages folio, 1546. Written to her sister. 6000 marks.

Sickingen, Franz von [1481–1523]. A. L. S. 2½ pages folio, 1521. 560 marks.

Zwingli, Ulrich. A. L. S. 3½ pages folio, 1528. 3200 marks.

Rubens, Peter Paul [Painter]. A. L. S. 2½ pages folio, 1628. 1520 marks.

Rafaele Santi [1483–1520]. A. L. S. 4to, 1514. 1560 marks.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1789. 1505 marks.

THE HUTH COLLECTION.

The small collection formed by Mr. Henry Huth, and sold in London on June 12 and 13, 1911, realized

prices so far in excess of any that had been previously obtained, or that were believed to be warranted by the rarity of the pieces, as to be truly astonishing.

Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, in his "Four Generations of a Literary Family," says:—"Henry Huth was a gentleman, a scholar, and a linguist—affable, kind and unostentatious. He was born in 1815, and succeeded his father, Frederick Huth, in the firm of F. Huth & Co., carrying on a very extensive and profitable mercantile business. A great book collector, possessing a fair knowledge of the contents of books, and a master of several languages, he accumulated, in the course of many years, an exceedingly valuable library, largely from the Daniel and Corser sales. His wealth, coupled with the fact that prices were vastly lower in the 1860s. and 70s. than they now are, enabled him to do this. He died in December, 1878, from the effects of a fall in his own home, which fractured his skull. His library and manuscript letters and documents passed into the hands of his son, who made numerous additions to them."

The catalogue of the collection is a pamphlet of 43 pages, with many facsimiles, and describes 246 separate items, which produced the remarkable total of £13166. An article in the London "Times," commenting on the sale, makes the statement that the

whole collection cost very little over £2000 between the years 1862 and 1880; and gives, in many instances, the particular prices paid by Mr. Huth.

The following names will exemplify the general character of the collection, and will show the vast difference between the prices paid, and those received, for some of the principal letters.

Burns, Robert. Autograph manuscript of the famous cantata of "The Jolly Beggars," 3 pages folio. £490.

Defoe, Daniel. A. L. S. 1 page 4to, 1704. Signed "D. F." £295.

Dryden, John. (Poet.) A. L. S. 4to, 1698. £200.

Edward IV. [King of England] and his brother Edmund. Letter on paper, in Latin, signed by both, 1 page oblong folio. London, Dec. 10, 1460. £130.
[Cost Mr. Huth £16.15 at the Addington sale.]

Elizabeth [Queen of England]. A. L. S., 3 pages folio. To Henry IV., of France. £365.

Galileo [the great astronomer]. A. L. S. 1½ pages folio, 1635. £116.

Goldsmith, Oliver. A. L. S. 2½ pages 4to. To Sir Joshua Reynolds. £280.

[Cost Mr. Huth £17.17 at the Dillon sale.]

Katherine of Arragon [Queen of Henry VIII.]. A. L. S. 3 pages folio, Buckden, Feb. 8, 1534. To the Em-

peror Charles V., on the subject of her divorce. £800.

[Cost Mr. Huth £26 at Puttick & Simpson's, in 1862.]

Katherine Parr [Queen of Henry VIII.]. L. S. 1 page oblong folio. £175.

[Cost Mr. Huth £27 at Puttick & Simpson's in 1862.]

Keats, John [Poet]. A. L. S. 3½ pages 4to, 1818. To his publisher, relating to the proof sheets of "Endymion." £450.

[Cost Mr. Huth £27.]

Lamb, Charles. Autograph manuscript of his Essay "Grace before Meat." 6½ pages folio, signed "Elia." £455.

[Cost Mr. Huth £5.2.6.]

Luther, Martin. A. L. S. 1¼ pages folio, 1525. To John, Duke of Saxony. £495.

[Cost Mr. Huth £14 at the Addington sale.]

Mary Tudor [Queen of England]. A. L. S. folio, 1557. To the Emperor Charles V. £420.

[Cost Mr. Huth £81.]

Mary, Queen of Scots. A. L. S. folio, 1586. Written to the French Ambassador while she was in captivity at Chartley. £1025.

[Cost Mr. Huth 2 guineas at Puttick & Simpson's in 1862.]

Raleigh, Sir Walter. A. L. S. folio. Written from the Tower to Sir Walter Cope, begging that his wife might be allowed to share his captivity. £520.

[Cost Mr. Huth £84 at the sale of the Young collection in 1869.]

Shelley, Percy B. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1821. To Joseph Severn, on John Keats and "Adonais." £770.

[Cost Mr. Huth £6.12.]

Washington, George. A. L. S. 3½ pages 4to, 1788. To Sir Edward Newenham. £71.

[Cost Mr. Huth £9.15 at the Addington sale.]

CHAPTER X

THE COLLECTION FORMED BY ALFRED MORRISON.

IN previous chapters mention has been made of a number of the leading European collections which, in successive decades since 1846, have gone to public sale. While it might be interesting to give a similar detailed notice of other great collections, it is not possible to do so within the limits assigned to the present book. There is, however, one collection—part of which has lately been sold at auction, where the remaining and larger part is shortly to be sold—that far exceeds in importance and value any other of which we have knowledge. It is that of Alfred Morrison, a London merchant of great wealth, who was born in 1821 and died in 1897. The “Dictionary of National Biography” contains a notice of him. After speaking of what he had accomplished as “a devoted and dis-

criminating collector," it goes on to say:—"The chief occupation of the last thirty years of his life was the accumulation of an extraordinary collection of autographs and letters, perhaps never rivalled by any private person, no less remarkable for its extent than for its completeness and historical and literary interest. It contains every kind of epistolary document dealing with politics, administration, art, science, and literature, ranging from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, and especially relating to the public and private life of monarchs, statesmen, and other persons of mark of all European countries, particularly Great Britain, France, and Italy. Many of the manuscripts are of great importance. The correspondence between Nelson and Lady Hamilton was for the first time fully printed in his catalogue. The papers of Sir Richard Bulstrode, who died in 1711 at the age of 101, contain his news-letters, which may be looked upon as a companion to, and a continuation of, Pepys's 'Diary.' . . . He was a man of fastidious taste, of retiring disposition, and of wide information on the subjects in which he was interested."

He printed for private distribution six sumptuous volumes, large 4to, with numerous facsimiles, in which a large part of his chief treasures are described; and, in addition, seven volumes, large 8vo. To say of these

treasures that they are truly wonderful, and that they never could have been acquired by any one who did not couple persistent endeavor with the possession of immense wealth, is to speak entirely within bounds. If a great rarity appeared for sale anywhere in Europe, his order was to buy it, irrespective of price. And so there are here gathered together the gems of all the principal collections that have been dispersed since the year 1865. No great name that was obtainable is absent from this goodly company; many names of first importance are represented by from two to ninety letters, instead of the single letter or document with which most collectors would be fully satisfied; and here and there we find a specimen that is unique in private hands. Add to all this the fact that the contents of very many of the letters are of historical importance; and we shall not hesitate to admit that this collection combines all the elements that contribute to make it one of surpassing excellence. It was left by Mr. Morrison to his wife, still living; by whose order it is to be dispersed.

The first portion of the collection is described in a catalogue of 119 pages, embracing 771 items, issued by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, the auctioneers. The sale took place on Monday, Dec. 10, 1917, and the four following days, and produced the sum of £12606.2.0.

The catalogue of the second portion—sold on Monday, April 15, 1918, and the four following days—is a pamphlet of 169 pages, naming 997 items, which produced a total of £15009.14.0.

The larger part of the collection remains for sale hereafter. The prices realized for a few of the rarest and most valuable autographs disposed of at the two sales named will now be stated.

Almagro, Don Diego de. Accompanied Pizarro and Cortez to America. Conquered Chili. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. Peru, Jan. 1, 1535. To the Emperor Charles V. £76.

Alva, Fernando, Duke of. The cruel Spanish general. A. L. S. 4 pages folio. 1567. £31.

Ariosto, Lodovico. The great Italian poet. A. L. S. folio. Ferrara, June 6, 1519. £45.

Artaignan, Comte d'. The original of Dumas' hero. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. Dec. 24, 1658. To Cardinal Mazarin. £23.

Borgia, Lucrezia. L. S. folio. Rome, Nov. 20, 1501. £64.

Browne, Sir Thomas. Physician and author. A. L. S. folio. Jan. 21, 1659. To John Evelyn. £45.

Buckingham, George Villiers, 1st Duke of. A. L. S. folio. 1626. To Cardinal Richelieu. £31.

- Buonarotti, Michel Angelo.* A. L. S. oblong 4to. 1545. £36.
- Cagliari, Paolo.* Called Paolo Veronese. A. L. S. folio. Dec. 20, 1577. £31.
- Castiglione, Baldassare.* Friend of Raphael. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Rome, 1521. £28.
- Catesby, Robert.* The chief contriver of the Gunpowder Plot. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{4}$ page folio. £26.
- Cervantes de Saavedra, Miguel.* Author of Don Quixote. D. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages folio, Feb. 4, 1593. £270.
- Charles I.* A. L. S. folio. May 29, 1630. To Marie de Médicis. Announcing the birth of the future Charles II. £98.
- Charles I.* A. L. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages folio. Cardiff, July 31, 1645. To the Marquis of Ormond. Extremely important. £160.
- Colon, Don Diego.* Eldest son of the great Columbus. D. S. 5 pages folio. To the Emperor Charles V. Historically important. £106.
- Cook, James.* Celebrated navigator. A. L. S. 4to. 1776. £36.
- Corneille, Pierre.* The great French poet. A. L. S. $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages 8 vo. £135.
- Cromwell, Oliver.* A. L. S. 2 pages folio. July 5, 1644. Important. £300.

- Defoe, Daniel.* A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. Signed with initials. Edinburgh, Nov. 2, 1706. £155.
- Diane de Poitiers.* Mistress of Henri II. A. L. S. folio. £46.
- Edward IV.* King of England. D. S. folio. 1475. £32.
- Elizabeth.* Queen of England. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. To King Henri IV. £150.
- Erasmus, Desiderius.* A. L. S. 4¼ pages folio. May 14, 1533. To Viglius Zuichen. £64.
- Francis I.* A. L. S. folio. 1531. £21.
- Galilei, Galileo.* The great astronomer. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. June, 1627. £66.
- Gwynn, Eleanor.* Mistress of Charles II. D. S. folio, 1684. £27.10.
- Hawkins, Sir John.* Naval commander. L. S. folio, 1581. £23.
- Henry VII.* King of England. L. S. folio, 1498. To the Duke of Milan. £28.
- Henry VIII.* King of England. A. L. S. ½ page folio. In French. To Margaret of Austria. £80.
- Jordaens, Jakob.* Flemish painter. A. L. S. 1½ pages folio. Antwerp, 1651. To Constantin Huygens. £28.
- Knox, John.* Scottish reformer. A. L. S. in Latin. Edinburgh, Oct. 24, 1561. To Calvin. £220.

Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé de. Bishop of Chiapa. Accompanied Columbus on his first voyage. A. L. (unsigned) 3 pages folio. 1520. £145.

Le Sage, Alain René. Author of Gil Blas. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. £59.

Luther, Martin. A. D. S. folio. On vellum. A homily on the 28th verse of the 11th chapter of St. Luke. £155.

Malherbe, François de. French poet. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. 1606. £16.

Marie Antoinette. Queen of France. A. L. S. 8vo. 1791. To the Princesse de Lamballe. £78.

Burns, Robert. Scottish poet. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Dec. 13, 1789. To Miss Dunlop. An extraordinary letter. £220.

Mary Stuart. Queen of Scotland. A. L. S. 2½ pages folio. Sheffield, Dec. 3, 1581. To Henri III. £360.

Melancthon, Philip. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Wittenberg, March 3, 1554. To Duke Augustus of Saxony. £28.

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus. Composer. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. 1787. Interesting. £50.

Napoleon I. A. L. S. ½ page 4to. Paris, Sept. 6, 1800. To Louis XVIII. £435.

Napoleon I. A. L. S. 8vo. To Josephine. £150.

- Orange, William the Silent, Prince of.* A. L. S. folio. 1573. £30.
- Rabelais, François.* French wit and satirist. A. L. S. 4½ pages folio. Rome, Jan. 28, 1537. £270.
- Racine, Jean.* Tragic poet. A. L. S. 6½ pages 4to. April 3, 1691. To Boileau. £54.
- Rembrandt van Rijn.* Famous Dutch painter. A. L. S. 1½ pages folio. Jan. 27, 1639. To Constantine Huygens. £180.
- Richard III.* King of England. D. S. on vellum. June 10, 1484. A treaty with the Duke of Brittany. £64.
- Robespierre, Maximilien.* A. L. S. 4to. Paris, Feb. 15, 1793. To Danton. £64.
- Rubens, Sir P. P.* Great Flemish painter. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Antwerp, Feb. 25, 1628. To M. Dupuy. £31.
- Saint Albans, Francis Bacon, Viscount.* A. L. S. ½ page folio. July 13, 1609. £54.
- Scarron, Paul.* Comic poet. A. L. S. 1½ pages 4to. To Pelisson. £17.10.
- Siddons, Sarah.* Famous actress. A. L. S. 7 pages 4to. Leeds, July 5, 1807. To James Ballantyne. £16.5.0.
- Sterne, Laurence.* A. L. S. 4to. March 12, 1763. Respecting the sale of "Tristram Shandy." £21.

- Swift, Jonathan.* Noted English author. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. Nov. 10, 1709. To Lady Gifford. Interesting. £35.
- Tasso, Torquato.* Celebrated Italian poet. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. Ferrara, June 21, 1575. £43.
- Vecelli, Tiziano.* Called Titian. Famous painter. A. L. S. folio. Rome, Dec. 8, 1545. To the Emperor Charles V. £76.
- Vespucci, Emerico.* The Florentine navigator who gave his name to America. A. L. S. (in Latin), Oct. 18, 1476. 1 page oblong 4to. On vellum. [One of the two known specimens of his handwriting.] £390.
- Vinci, Leonardo da.* Celebrated Italian painter. Two pen and ink sketches of machines, with autograph descriptions. 1 page folio. £110.
- Washington, George.* A. L. S. 3½ pages 4to. Sept. 12, 1758. To Miss Fairfax. About his love for Mrs. Custis. £152.
- Wolfe, Gen. James.* A. L. S. (initials). 3½ pages folio. Louisburg, May 19, 1759. To his uncle, Major Walter Wolfe. Giving particulars of his position before the attack on Quebec. £62.
- Bonaparte, Letizia.* Mother of Napoleon. A. L. S. ½ page 4to. [March 23, 1801.] To her son Lucien. £21.

Burns, Robert. A. L. S. 6 pages 4to. Feb. 28, 1791.
To Dr. John Moore. Enclosing a ballad of 22 lines
on Queen Mary. £200.

Byron, Lord. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. June 25, 1809.
To Rev. Francis Hodgson. Interesting. £32.

Byron, Lord. Autograph verses, 3 pages 4to. Com-
prising 13 stanzas, of 4 lines each, dated March 18,
1816, of his famous poem

Fare thee well! and, if for ever,
Still, for ever, fare thee well. £320.

Catherine de Medicis. Queen of France. A. L. S. $\frac{3}{4}$
page folio. Dec. 20, 1583. To Mary, Queen of
Scots. £300.

Cellini, Benvenuto. Celebrated Italian Goldsmith. 2
A. L. S. folio. To Francesco Ricci. £30.

Charles V. Emperor of Germany. A. L. S. folio. To
Francis I. Written in French. £32.

Defoe, Daniel. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. May 29, 1711.
£195.

Dryden, John. Poet. A. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ page 4to. Aug.
5, 1699. £34.

Edward IV. King of England. L. S. $\frac{1}{2}$ page oblong
folio. To the Duke of Milan. £50.

Edward VI. King of England. Royal sign manual
to a warrant on paper. March 18, 1553. £35.

Elizabeth. Queen of England. A. L. S. (in French), 2 pages folio. Sept., 1602. To King Henry IV. of France. £90.

Falstaff, Sir John. Famous military commander, vanquished by Joan of Arc. D. S. on vellum, 1 page folio. Jan. 1, 1435 (1436). £27.

Francis I. King of France. A. L. S. 1 page 4to, 1527. To the Emperor Charles V., assuring him of the devotion of the writer. £38.

Garrick, David. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. London, Dec. 3, 1773. Speaking of his appearance in the character of Hamlet. £42.

Goldsmith, Oliver. A. L. S. 1 page 4to. To Garrick. £265.

Keats, John. English poet. A. L. S. 2¼ pages 8vo. To Fanny Brawne. £100.

La Fontaine, Jean de. Poet and Fabulist. A. L. S. 2 pages 8vo, Sept. 2, 1683. To the Duchesse de Bouillon. £60.

Mary, Queen of Scots. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. July 11, 1568. To Philip II. of Spain. Fine and important. £340.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCERNING COLLECTORS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

PRIOR to 1850 there were few collectors of autographs in the United States, and their collections, with four exceptions—those of Robert Gilmor, I. K. Tefft, William B. Sprague, and Lewis J. Cist—were small and unimportant. In this category come the names of Prof. R. W. Gibbes [of Columbia, S. C.], Benjamin B. Thatcher [author, of Boston], Thomas S. Grimke [philanthropist, of Charleston, S. C.], Mrs. E. H. Allen [of Providence, R. I.], and Mellen Chamberlain [of Boston].

Between 1850 and 1860 this list was enlarged by the addition of the names of Dr. John S. H. Fogg [of Boston], Joseph J. Mickley [of Philadelphia], Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet [of New York], Robert C. Davis [of Philadelphia], Benj. Perley Poore [of Washington, D. C.], Frank M. Etting [of Philadelphia], Brantz

Mayer [of Baltimore], Ferdinand J. Dreer [of Philadelphia], and Joshua J. Cohen [of Baltimore]. Thereafter it grew steadily.

A few words will suffice to tell what is known of the general character and history of some of these collections.

Robert Gilmor was a wealthy merchant of Baltimore, who became a devotee to art and accumulated a fine gallery of paintings. Somewhere about the year 1825 he commenced the formation of a collection of autographs, and was thereafter a liberal buyer in European markets. In 1841 he printed, for private distribution, a catalogue of the foreign autographs in his possession, which contained many good, and some rare, names. The American portion of the collection was small. In 1851—after the death of Mr. Gilmor—Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, purchased part of the collection, the remainder being sold piecemeal.

The following rather curious, but interesting, account of Mr. Gilmor's collection is given in a letter written by Benj. B. Thatcher [the well-known author, who was also a collector of autographs] to the New Orleans "Bulletin."

Providence, R. I., June, 1835.

I embrace my earliest leisure since writing you last to give you a sketch of one of the most remarkable

curiosities which I have thus far met with. I mean the collection of autographs in the possession of Robert Gilmore, Esq., of Baltimore, a gentleman of taste and travel, and fortunately favored with the means of indulging the one, and availing himself, as heretofore he has done freely, of the benefit of the other. I had heard of his cabinet formerly, and, I believe, mentioned him to you in my description of Mr. Tefft's collection at Savannah, as standing at the head of his profession, so to speak, in this country, if not in the caste at large. He has not more of the passion, perhaps, than some others—and the number, by the way, is fast increasing—but more of the means of making the best of it, which he does. I venture to say it has been no rare thing for him to give, not five and ten dollars only for a precious rarity, but fifteen, twenty, thirty, and I dare say more than that—more than he would be willing to acknowledge. I am not aware that any other collector has adopted this system to any extent worthy of mention. It is common abroad; indeed the gratuitous system is getting fast out of use there; autographs are growing daily more and more articles of mere merchandise in the literary market; and begging has given place to buying, perhaps almost universally, with the exception of those cases where the individual is himself distinguished enough to accumulate a curious and



ROBERT GILMORE

recherche correspondence. . . . Mr. Gilmor's cabinet is not the most extensive in the United States, so far as quantity is concerned. That of the Rev. Mr. Sprague, at Albany, stands in that respect at the head of the list *longo intervallo*, being composed of 20,000 specimens at least. . . . A very considerable portion of them, however, consists of the theological division. . . . Mr. Gilmor's is more general, though less voluminous, and it is also, autographically speaking, undoubtedly more valuable—admitted to be so by the worthy Dr. Sprague himself. It consists of about 20 large quarto hollow wooden volumes filled with loose letters, notes, royal decrees and proclamations, papal bulls, state papers, single signatures pasted upon white sheets, and all the other variety of documents commonly comprised in similar hoards, lying flat and neatly labelled with such memoranda as may be essential to preserve the record of their authenticity and whatever is of interest in their history or character at large. . . . My time being limited, I asked to be shown the poets, foreign—having a particular desire to look at Byron and some others, which are not very common even at this day; for Byron, especially, has come already, such is the search for him, to be decidedly a *rara avis*. In respect to him, particularly, my host has been fortunate. He showed me, among other things, the identical letter of credit which

he took with him—in 1829, I think it was—on starting for those travels which proved to be his last. . . . There was also one of his bills of exchange, and, if I mistake not, a letter or note to Cam Hobhouse, from Genoa, signed “Noel.” Walter Scott of course is here, with the ordinary characteristic of a total want of punctuation of any sort. Then came a letter from Southey to Scott—how interesting you will easily conceive; long letters of Chapelain, Goldoni, Metastasio, Racine, and Malesherbes; clusters of Cunningham, Joanna Baillie, Charles Dibdin, Barton, Montgomery, Watts, Hemans, Bowring, Crabbe, L. E. L., Moore, and I can’t remember whom, all crowded together. . . . In many instances poems—sometimes original pieces, sometimes the celebrated—are preserved. There is a piece of Mrs. Barbauld, and another of Rogers; a broken fragment of Wordsworth; and a verse or two of Horace Smith. . . . But what shall I say of an article from the pen of the immortal Alfieri himself, of the date of 1793. It were enough to set a genuine virtuoso a little frantic; and if I were one, and were compelled to choose a single specimen from this rich reservoir of rarities, alone, I confess I should be sadly at a loss whether to postpone this splendid treasure even for the primitive copy of that masterly effort of Campbell’s, “What’s hallowed ground”—for here it is, corrections

and all. It makes my eyes water to think of it. I must breathe a while for a fresh foray in my memoranda. Miss Edgeworth shines with this constellation, and the famous Berkeley and Sir Richard Steele, who has got to be decidedly rare and precious. Madame D'Arblay and the portly Dr. Parr hobble along together; and Jeffrey goes arm in arm with Mrs. Graham, the historian; while Roscoe, Porson, Pinkerton, Gillies, Lamb, and Bryan W. Proctor bring up the rear. Then comes a procession of Bulwer, Lady Morgan, Hallam, Richard Cumberland, Godwin and Darwin, with a rabble rout of Holcroft, Arthur Young, Macklin, Murphy, Gifford, Hamilton, Shelley, and Sir John Shore. Two letters of Sir William Jones follow on. There is a power of attorney by Swift, a note of Addison's, the signature of Francis Bacon to an instrument of 1616; letters of Burke, Dugald Stewart, and Hearne; Warburton and Arbuthnot, side by side; Jeremy Bentham, alone in his glory; a knot of Italians, with Sismondi, Manzoni, Belzoni and Botta at their head; Hannah More; and how many others more I can't remember. I do remember, however, three of the bijoux of this volume. One is a letter of Dillenius to Gronovius, I believe in Latin; the second, of Pope to the novelist Richardson; and the third, of the celebrated Sam Johnson to Bishop White, of Philadelphia, dated 1773, and giv-

ing an account of Goldsmith's new comedy and a new edition of his own Dictionary. The Doctor wrote a back hand also, something like Beattie's.

In the French literary chapter, among the rarities, is a letter of Rousseau to D'Alembert—a gem of course; Salmatius of 1687; a fragment of Tasso, in Latin, and of Vossius, 1648, in the same; Diderot, Volney, De Stael, Horian, and Beaumarchais; and the whole list of the pensioners of the Institute, from 50 to 100 of them. There are the scientific savans on a similar pay-roll, the two first named of which, I think, are Lagrange and Laplace, and then Delambre, Lacroix, Lalande, Hauy, Lamarque, Cuvier, and so on. In this division are Michaux, Banks, Denon, Priestley, Davy, Bonpland, Humboldt, and Blumenbach. Kotzebue, Goethe, and Schlegel were there somewhere. Among the artists were notes of Chantry, Thorwaldsen and West, and something from Fuseli, Shea, Camuccini, Gerard, Morghen, Beechey, Madame Le Brun, Canova and Lawrence, and, what is still better, of Pietro Paulo Rubens, an inestimable treasure. Then there is a valuable dramatic collection, which I cannot detail, but Bannister and Pasta I remember among them, as well as Kean, all the Kembles, etc. In many cases there are signatures only, more than that having become *introuvable*. So it is with Walpole, Voltaire

[very rare], and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. . . . The Bonaparte family, male and female, are all here, Letitia Mére included, and the son alone wanting. I looked at Maria Louisa with a strange interest, and especially when I saw it side by side with all the *distingues* of her day. I turned then to gaze upon the musty memorials of Queen Elizabeth; for there was her hand proper. There too was her august father, the Eighth Harry. There were Queen Anne, Leopold, a whole letter of Charles I., Boyer, Christophe, Iturbide, a letter of the great Charles V. of Spain to Magistrates [1522], his son Philip II. to the Duke of Alva, in French [1567], Capo D'Istria, Saxe Weimar, and a host more. I confess that I valued Lafayette, with his wife and family, beyond them all. Every American will attach a still higher estimate to the Washington series, which of itself forms the soul of a volume. This is rich indeed. It begins with the great man as a boy 13, and follows his writings down to his death. There is his ciphering at school, his surveying minutes, his journal as an orderly sergeant, his Braddock memoranda, his Revolutionary hand, and so to the end, showing the gradual settling down of the characters into that beautiful and characteristic writing now so generally known and admired. What a treasure is this; and there is a corresponding one in the autographs of the entire family of the Penns,

from William to this day. . . . Here are files of Colonial papers of every date, including Lord Baltimore's in abundance, and especially the original minute-book of the persons employed by Maryland and Pennsylvania in 1751 to survey the boundary between those States. . . . Mr. Gilmor has succeeded, with infinite pains, in getting together the autographs of all the Signers of the Declaration—that *ne plus ultra* of collectors—with the exception of a single one, Mr. Lynch. Mr. Sprague has outrun him in this field, for he has the whole, and so has Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool; and these are the only complete sets in the world. Mr. Gilmor will finish his, I cannot doubt. He could not lie still in his grave without it. But there would be no end to a detail like this. I will conclude with a curiosity of the first magnitude, such as autograph hunters, were they able, would give their weight in gold for. I do not refer to a letter of Sterne's to Dodsley, chaffering in vain to get £50 [I think] for Tristram Shandy. I mean a memorandum in the writing of the notorious Dr. Dodd, being the original minutes furnished to the scrivener for the forged deed to Chesterfield, of £500, payable at 25 years of age—for which he suffered the penalty of the law. The name of the gambler is not given; a significant blank stands in the place of it. In some departments are deficiencies still. What would Mr. Gilmor

give for a Columbus—such as never has been seen in America—or for a genuine Isabella! Gibbon is hard to be had, and so is Garrick. Grotius I never have met with anywhere.

Mr. Gilmor is the owner, I may add, of the best private collection of paintings in this country. They cost him over \$20,000."

Frank M. Etting was a lawyer, of Philadelphia, and an historical student, who devoted himself assiduously, from early manhood [circa 1852], to the collection of American autographs, particularly those of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. He left his numerous and valuable manuscript possessions to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Robert C. Davis was a Philadelphia pharmacist, whose antiquarian taste led him to gather, with avidity, Continental and Colonial paper money, coins, and autographs. Of the last named, he had an interesting collection, principally American, including a complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; which was sold *en bloc*, after his death, to Charles Roberts, of Philadelphia. It, together with the additions which Mr. Roberts afterwards made to it, is now deposited in Roberts Hall, Haverford College; having been given to that institution by his

widow. Mr. Davis was an exceptionally good judge of the genuineness of autographs, and his opinion in doubtful cases was often sought.

The very valuable collection of Ferdinand J. Dreer, of Philadelphia, is described in a catalogue consisting of two large 4to volumes, which he printed for private distribution in 1890. Its formation was begun in 1848, and year by year it grew rapidly in size and importance. Being the fortunate possessor of large means, Mr. Dreer was never compelled to decline the purchase of a rarity on account of the price asked for it. Several years prior to his death he gave the entire collection to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, where it is now carefully preserved and greatly treasured.

The splendid American collections formed by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York, were purchased from him at a very large price—said to have been not less than \$200,000—by Mr. John S. Kennedy, a New York banker, in 1896; who then presented them to the New York Public Library. The several series of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence in this collection are, and must ever remain, unequalled. They contain the only known autograph letter of Thomas Lynch, Jun.



THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, M. D.

The collection of Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of Boston, was a choice one. He became a cripple about the time he reached middle life, and turned his attention to autographs as a desirable diversion for a man deprived of physical activity. He was particularly interested in the series of Colonial Governors of Mass., Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Generals of the Revolutionary War; and was successful in obtaining fine specimens of most of the names they embrace. The entire collection has, by his bequest, become the property of the Historical Society of Maine.

Joseph J. Mickley, of Philadelphia, was a dealer in musical instruments, and for many years was an ardent collector of coins and autographs. After his death, in 1878, the autographs belonging to his estate were sold at auction in Philadelphia. The catalogue enumerates a complete and fairly good set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, many desirable miscellaneous American and foreign names, and a complete set of letters of the Presidents of the United States. In the last-named set there was a very remarkable A. L. S. 4to, of four pages, written by President Lincoln to Gen. George B. McClellan on April 9, 1862, assuring him of the President's kind feeling and full purpose to sustain him, and closing with the words "*But you must act.*"

Brantz Mayer, the well known author who died in Baltimore, on March 21, 1879, left a small collection of letters, chiefly of the Revolutionary period, among which were a considerable number of the rarer Signers of the Declaration of Independence and Generals of the Revolutionary War. The best of them came from the Maryland State papers. After his death they were scattered; partly at private, partly at public, sale.

The large collection formed by Major Ben Perley Poore, of Newburyport, Mass., and Washington, D. C., was disposed of at auction, in Boston, on Feb. 15-17, 1888. The catalogue is a pamphlet of 153 pages, enumerating 2751 separate items, most of which are American. The Generals of the Civil War, both Union and Confederate, members of the Continental Congress, Presidents of the United States and their Cabinets, Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and officers in the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, were well represented. The sale produced \$6500.

THE TEFFT COLLECTION.

Israel K. Tefft, of Savannah, Ga., was probably the earliest American collector; his first acquisitions of autographs having been made as far back as 1815.

From this date, up to the time of his death in 1861, he was devoted to his hobby, and was successful in gathering an interesting collection, of moderate size, containing two complete sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; the better of which was sold by his widow to Mr. Almon W. Griswold, of New York, for the exceedingly small price of \$500. The rest of the collection was disposed of at auction, in New York, in 1867. The catalogue is a pamphlet of 262 pages, enumerating 2630 items; of which 1794 are American, the rest foreign. Many of them include a number of names or specimens. It contains much good material, Colonial, Revolutionary, and of a later date, as well as a few good foreign names, coupled with a considerable quantity of what is closely akin to trash. The sale produced \$7369.

As indicative of the difference between the auction values of that day and of the present time, the following instances may be given:

A complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence sold at \$625.

Arnold, Gen. Benedict. A. L. S. 4to. \$6.

Cooper, J. Fenimore. A. L. S. 4to. \$1.50.

Eliot, John [Apostle of the Indians]. A. D. S. ½ page folio. \$3.50.

Gadsden, Gen. Christopher. A. L. S. 4to, 1792. \$2.



REV. WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE

- Gist, Gen. Mordecai. A. L. S. folio, 2 pages, 1781. \$1.50.
- Harrison, Robert H. [Supreme Court U. S.]. A. L. S. folio, 1780. \$1.63.
- Holmes, Oliver Wendell. A. L. S. 4to. 75 cents.
- Irving, Washington. A. L. S. 4to, 2 pages, 1834. \$3.
- Lafayette, General. A. L. S. 4to, 1778. \$2.50.
- Payne, John Howard. A. L. S. 4to, 4 pages, 1835. \$1.25.
- Poe, Edgar A. A. L. S. 4to, 1836. \$5.
- Poe, Edgar A. A. L. S. folio, 1840. \$7.
- Jones, John Paul. A. L. S. folio, 1½ pages, 1777. \$14.50.
- Beethoven, Ludwig von (the composer). A. L. S. 4to. \$13.
- Dickens, Charles. A. L. S. 8vo, 2 pages, 1842. \$2.50.
- Henry VII, King of England. D. S. folio. \$4.
- Lamb, Charles. A. L. S. 4to. \$14.
- Thackeray, William M. A. L. S. 8vo, 2 pages, 1856. \$3.

THE SPRAGUE COLLECTION.

The Rev. Dr. William B. Sprague, who passed the greater part of his life as pastor of a Presbyterian Church



REV. WILLIAM B. SPRAGUE

in Albany, N. Y., was not only the patriarch of American collectors, but was acknowledged to be the owner of the largest and finest collection in the United States. Shortly after his graduation from college, he became a tutor in the family of Major Lewis, a nephew of Gen. Washington, who had in his possession the entire correspondence of the General. Young Sprague—then not more than twenty-two years of age—was allowed to select from this correspondence all the letters and papers he desired; and thus he obtained a great number of military letters addressed to Washington by Generals and other officers in the Revolutionary War, as well as many that were written by other leading men between the years 1774 and 1799. Among the papers thus secured were specimens of Washington's handwriting from the age of twelve to that of seventeen. In after years he was given the correspondence of Samuel Huntington, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and that of Thomas Rodney, of Del., and Jedediah Morse; and was also the recipient of a large part of the papers of President Monroe, Aaron Burr, and Sir William Johnson. From these and other sources he obtained an abundance of material available for exchanges with American and European collectors. Owing to his prominence in the Presbyterian Church, many clergymen of that denomina-

tion, both in the United States and Great Britain, interested themselves in securing desirable contributions to his treasures. At the time of his death, in 1876, the collection numbered upwards of 90,000 items, of which at least one-third were letters or documents of men and women of prominence. Most of the American series were complete, and a majority of the names in them were represented by numerous specimens. The European letters included many rarities and numbered not less than 5000. Five years after his death the collection was sold *en bloc*, and still remains intact in the hands of its purchaser.

THE CIST COLLECTION.

Lewis J. Cist, who became widely known as an enthusiastic collector of autographs, was born in Pennsylvania on November 20, 1818, and died in Cincinnati on March 30, 1885. He commenced his collection when he was seventeen or eighteen years of age; and thereafter devoted himself, most energetically, to the acquisition of letters or documents of notable persons of all nationalities and periods. His life was spent, partly in St. Louis and partly in Cincinnati, as teller in a bank. His pecuniary resources were not large; but a little money went a long way in securing auto-

graphs in England, France and Germany—particularly the latter country—during the years dating from 1836 to 1860. By dint of great industry and very numerous exchanges with other collectors, he succeeded in forming a collection which, at the time of his death, ranked second only to that of Dr. Sprague. It was sold at auction, in New York, in four parts; the first sale taking place in October, 1886, and the last in May, 1887. The catalogues of these four sales described 11,624 items, which realized about \$18,000. The American portion was quite complete in all the principal series; and included sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence [elsewhere spoken of in detail], the Federal Convention, Generals of the Revolutionary War, Presidents, and a specially large and important gathering of the Colonial Governors. Many of the latter—including a fine A. L. S. folio of Roger Williams and others of equal rarity—came from the Winthrop papers, and were given to Mr. Cist by Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in return [as he himself told a brother collector] for a letter of President William H. Harrison which Mr. Winthrop desired as a present for a friend. The manuscript autograph poems by the most noted American poets were remarkable both in point of number and importance. The foreign portion of the collection was quite equal to the American. It covered a

large field and, among many fine and desirable specimens, contained a complete set of letters of Napoleon and his Marshals, and a large number of letters of the leading characters in the 'Thirty Years' War.

Specific mention may be made of the following items:

Allen, Col. Ethan. Fine military A. L. S. folio, 1781. \$20.

Williams, Roger [founder of R. I.] A. L. S. folio, 1637. \$107.50.

Stuyvesant, Peter [Governor of N. Y.] A. L. S. folio, 1664. \$81.

Andros, Sir Edmund [Governor of N. Y.] A. L. S. folio, 1675. \$31.

Penn, William. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1685. \$50.

Lessing, Gotthold Eph. [Great German author]. A. L. S. 4to, 1775. \$18.

Schiller, Friedrich von [Great poet]. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. \$25.

Körner, Karl Theodor [Celebrated poet]. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to. \$7.

Garrick, David [Actor]. A. L. S. 8vo. \$11.

Abington, Frances [Actress]. A. L. S. 4to. \$5.25.

Jordan, Dora [Actress]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. \$3.25.

Melancthon, Philip [friend of Luther]. A. L. S. 2 pages folio. \$40.

- Aquila, Caspar* [friend of Luther]. A. L. S. 4to, 1551. \$18.
- Richardson, Samuel* [Novelist]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1758. \$22.
- Haydn, Joseph* [Composer of Music]. A. L. S. 4to, 1800. \$27.
- Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus*. A. L. S. 4to. \$69.
- Beethoven, Ludwig von*. A. L. S. 4to. \$27.
- Schubert, Franz* [Composer]. A. L. S. 4to, 1828. \$17.
- Congreve, William* [Dramatist]. A. D. S. folio, 1718. \$6.
- Southerne, Thomas* [Dramatist]. A. L. S. 8vo. \$4.25.
- Medici, Catherine de* [Queen of France]. A. L. S. folio. \$18.
- Napoleon Bonaparte*. L. S. 4to, 1804. Relative to his coronation as Emperor. \$15.50.
- Cowper, William* [Poet]. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1792. \$13.
- Keats, John* [Poet]. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1820. \$22.
- Pope, Alexander* [Poet]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1720. \$32.
- Shelley, Percy B.* [Poet]. A. L. S. 4to, 1817. \$42.
- Mary, Queen of Scots*. L. S. folio, 1559. \$52.
- Elizabeth* [Queen of England]. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1591. \$32.

- Washington, George.* A. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1779. To Col. John Laurens. \$32.
- Jackson, Andrew.* A. L. S. 4to, 1841. \$3.75.
- Taylor, Zachary.* A. L. S. 4to, 1848. \$13.50.
- Lincoln, Abraham.* A. L. S. 4to, 1849. \$27.50.
- Putnam, Gen. Israel.* L. S. 4to, 1776. \$9.50.
- Kalb, John, Baron de [General].* A. L. S. folio, 1777. \$21.
- Conway, Gen. Thomas.* A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1778. \$75.
- Jones, John Paul.* A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1780. \$34.

THE LEFFINGWELL COLLECTION.

The months of January and March, 1891, witnessed the dispersal at auction, in Boston, of the splendid collection formed by Prof. E. H. Leffingwell, of New Haven. He commenced his autographic pursuits when he was quite a young man, and was, with Dr. Sprague and Messrs. Tefft and Cist, one of the small coterie of noted early American collectors. During the course of a long life, he was a liberal and constant purchaser from dealers, both American and European, and at auction sales.

The catalogues of his collection number, respectively, 331 pages, enumerating 3335 items, and 357 pages,

enumerating 3315 items; very many of which include a considerable number of autographs. The collection was much larger and more important than that of Mr. Cist, and was unquestionably the finest that had ever been sold at auction in the United States; producing over \$51,000, and showing a great advance in values within the few years that had elapsed since the Cist sale. It comprised not only the series of Colonial Governors, Albany Convention, Stamp Act Congress, Annapolis Convention, Constitutional Convention, Signers of the Articles of Confederation, Members of the Continental Congress, Generals and officers of the Revolutionary War, and Presidents of the United States, but also many foreign Sovereigns, and a great number of foreign autographs, English, French, and German. Its most notable portion was its complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, classed as fourth in rank among the twenty-two complete sets then known; which realized \$10,350, a price regarded at the time as enormous. There was also a second set, lacking Lynch and Gwinnett only.

Amidst such a wealth of material it will be manifestly impossible to note more than a few items.

Boone, Daniel [Pioneer]. A. L. S. folio, 1809. \$35.

Braddock, Gen. Edward. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1755. \$47.

Byron, Lord [Poet]. A. L. S. 4 pages, 4to 1819. \$85.

- Danforth, Thomas* [Deputy Governor of Mass.]. D. S. 4to, 1673. \$35.
- Davenport, Rev. John* [Founder of New Haven Colony]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1650. \$81.
- Eliot, Rev. John* [Missionary to the Indians]. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1673. \$500.
- Mary, Queen of Scots*. D. S. folio, 1559. \$90.
- Paul I.* [Emperor of Russia]. A. L. S. 4to, 1779. \$21.
- Garrick, David* [Actor]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. \$42.
- Penn, William*. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1708. \$105.
- Williams, Roger* [founder of Rhode Island]. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1656. \$310.
- Dunster, Henry* [President of Harvard]. A. L. S. folio, 1655. \$56.
- Jones, John Paul*. A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1782. \$107.50.
- Knyphausen, Baron* [Commanded the Hessian troops in the Revolutionary War]. L. S. folio, 1780. \$40.
- McNeill, Hector* [Captain in the Continental Navy]. A. L. S. folio, 1785. \$20.
- Endecott, John* [Governor of Mass.]. A. L. S. 4to, 1659. \$60.
- Dudley, Thomas* [Governor of Mass.]. A. L. S. 4to, 1649. \$110.
- Mather, Rev. Cotton*. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1692. \$101.

- Munson, Capt. William.* A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1780.
Giving an account of the execution of Major André.
\$450.
- Newton, Sir Isaac.* A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1719. \$325.
- Poe, Edgar A.* A. L. S. 4to, with an autograph poem
signed. \$255.
- Revere, Paul.* A. L. S. [9 lines], 1779. \$40.
- André, Major John.* A. L. S. folio, 1780. \$700.
- Kalb, Baron de* [General in the Revolutionary War]. A.
L. S. 2 pages folio, 1777. \$77.50.
- Hale, Captain Nathan* [the Martyr Spy]. A. L. S. folio,
1775. \$1275.
- Harrison, Col. Robert H.* [Aide to Gen. Washington].
A. L. S. folio, 1779. \$50.
- Lee, Gen. Charles* [Revolutionary War]. A. L. S. 2
pages 4to, 1776. \$175.
- Lewis, Gen. Andrew* [Revolutionary War]. A. L. S. 4to,
1779. \$121.
- Moore, Gen. James* [Revolutionary War]. L. S. 2 pages
folio, 1777. \$168.
- Nash, Gen. Francis* [Revolutionary War]. A. D. S.
folio, 1765. \$70.
- Pomeroy, Gen. Seth* [Revolutionary War]. A. L. S. 4to,
1773. \$100.
- Scammel, Col. Alexander.* A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1780.
Giving an account of Arnold's treason. \$425.

- Spencer, Gen. Joseph* [Revolutionary War]. A. L. S. 4to, 1776. \$66.
- Warren, Gen. Joseph*. L. S. folio, 1775. To Benj. Franklin. \$225.
- Wayne, Gen. Anthony*. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1781. To Gen. Washington, on the mutiny of the Pennsylvania Line. \$150.
- Woodford, Gen. Wm.* [Revolutionary War]. A. L. S. folio, 1778. \$80.
- Bartlett, Josiah* [Signer]. A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1776. \$240.
- Hall, Lyman* [Signer]. A. L. S. 4 pages folio, 1777. Giving an account of the duel in which Gwinnett was killed. \$1775.
- Hancock, John* [Signer]. A. L. S. folio, 1776. \$380.
- Heyward, Thomas, Jr.* [Signer]. A. L. S. 4to, 1780. \$450.
- Livingston, Philip* [Signer]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1776. \$325.
- Lincoln, Abraham*. A. L. S. folio, 1840. \$90.
- Johnson, Andrew*. A. L. S. 4to, 1853. \$80.
- Washington, Gen. George*. L. S. 4 pages folio, 1782. \$100.
- Wolfe, Gen. James*. A. L. S. 4to, 1752. \$105.



CHARLES C. JONES

THE CHARLES C. JONES COLLECTION.

Col. Charles C. Jones—born in Savannah, Ga., in 1831—was an officer of artillery in the Confederate Army during the Civil War who, after peace was declared, devoted his attention largely to historical pursuits. In 1866 he commenced the formation of a series of autograph letters of all the Confederate generals; which he succeeded in completing, after a large correspondence, during a number of years, with surviving Southern officers. The taste for collecting autographs, thus acquired, grew upon him; and he began a diligent search for letters of Colonial and Revolutionary characters of his native State, not alone for the purpose of placing them in his own portfolios, but also because they might furnish material for a full history of Georgia, which he had determined to write, and which was completed and published several years before his death. His enthusiastic efforts in this field, during a period of twenty-five years, were rewarded by the acquisition of a collection which embraced two complete sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, a set [nearly complete] of the Members of the Continental Congress, the Presidents of the United States, Generals and officers in the Revolutionary War, and a number of miscellaneous American and foreign names.

After his death, in 1893, the more valuable part of the collection was disposed of at private sale; the best set of the Signers going to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, of New York, and the nearly complete series of Members of the Continental Congress, which included letters of most of the Signers of the Declaration, passing into the hands of a collector in Boston.

The remainder of the collection was sold at auction, in Philadelphia, on April 24-26, 1894. The prices obtained were very reasonable, and showed a great falling off from the high figures of the Leffingwell sale. An autograph signature ["Lynch"] of Thomas Lynch, Jr., cut from one of his books, went for \$30, and a D. S. folio [mortgage] of Button Gwinnett for \$320. Two folio letters signed of Gen. Washington, written in 1789 to George Walton, sold for \$16 each.

THE COHEN COLLECTION.

The collection of Dr. Joshua J. Cohen, of Baltimore, came under the auctioneer's hammer, in Philadelphia, on Nov. 12 and 13, 1907. Dr. Cohen commenced its formation some time between the years 1840 and 1850, and continued to add to it until the close of his life. It was almost exclusively American; and contained a number of letters of Gen. Washington and his family, a



ELLIOT DANFORTH

complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, many members of the Continental Congress, Generals and officers of the Revolutionary War, Presidents and their Cabinets, Naval officers, Governors of Maryland [from Colonial days], and miscellaneous items. The sale realized \$4300; most of the autographs going at very moderate prices.

THE DANFORTH COLLECTION.

In point of size the collection of Elliot Danforth greatly outdistanced any that had previously been dispersed at auction; and its importance, in the American series, was at least equal to that of the Leffingwell collection. Mr. Danforth was born in New York on March 6, 1850, and died there on Jan. 7, 1906. He was a lawyer by profession, but devoted most of his time to politics, and was chosen Treasurer of the State of New York, an office which he held for two terms. While in this position he had the opportunity of examining, and making selections from, the immense correspondence of the Adjutant General of New York during the Civil War; whereby he came into possession of a great number of letters of Union generals. His success in this particular field led him to extend his attention to all classes of American autographs; and in the course

of a comparatively few years he amassed, by the acquisition of large numbers of public papers, as well as by exchanges with other collectors and liberal purchases, the immense collection which, after his death, was sold at auction, in Philadelphia, on various dates in the years 1911, 1912, 1913 and 1914.

Owing to its great size, it was disposed of in seven parts. The catalogues included, among the American series, Colonial Governors, the Albany Convention of 1754, the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, the Continental Congress [with many fine letters of Signers of the Declaration of Independence], Generals and officers of the Revolutionary War, Presidents of the United States, the Supreme Court of the U. S., the first Federal Congress, and authors. They also contained very notable sets of the Generals of the Civil War [both Union and Confederate], the Peace Congress of 1861, and of all prominent persons connected with the Southern Confederacy; as well as a very large number of autograph documents of Abraham Lincoln, and many miscellaneous autographs [American and foreign]. The set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, which attracted more attention than any other part of the collection, is elsewhere particularly noticed. The price—\$4600—paid for the D. S. 2 pages folio, 1770, of Button Gwinnett, was the highest ever given for an

autograph in an American auction room.

The following items may be mentioned as typical of the most valuable letters in the collection:

Christie, Gen. Gabriel [French and Indian War]. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1757. Interesting. \$115.

Gage, Gen. Thomas. A. L. S. 4 pages folio, 1765. Interesting. \$100.

Greene, Gen. Nathanael. A. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1781. To Gen. Lafayette. \$191.

Montgomery, Gen. Richard. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1775. Military letter. \$560.

Paine, Thomas [Patriot]. A. L. S. folio, 1783. To Robert Morris. \$125.

Penn, Thomas [Colonial Governor of Pa.]. A. L. S. 7 pages 4to, 1758. \$105.

Washington, George. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1785. To James Madison. \$590.

Franklin, Benjamin. A. L. S. folio, 1772. To his wife. \$140.

Grant, Gen. U. S. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. Headquarters, Jan. 8, 1865. \$220.

Lincoln, Abraham. A. L. S. 3 pages 8vo, 1861. To Gov. Magoffin, of Ky. \$975.

Washington, George. L. S. 3 pages folio, 1782. An important letter to Gen. Greene. \$300.

- Washington, Martha.* A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1794. \$780.
Lincoln, Abraham. A. L. S. 4to, 1841. \$137.50.
Pynchon, Col. John [Governor of Springfield, Mass.].
A. D. S. 4to, 1656. \$360.
Herkimer, Gen. Nicholas [Revolutionary War]. L. S.
4to, 1775. \$150.
Moore, Alfred [Supreme Court of the U. S.]. A. L. S.
2 pages 4to, 1800. \$210.
Blair, John [Supreme Court of the U. S.]. A. L. S.
4to, 1781. \$200.
Eliot, John [Missionary to the Indians]. A. D. S.
small 4to, 1665. \$330.
Alden, John [Plymouth pilgrim]. D. S. folio, 1663.
\$190.

THE HALE COLLECTION.

John Mills Hale, of Philipsburg, Pa., devoted more than fifty years of his life to the formation of a collection of autographs composed of nearly all of the American series and a large number of foreign letters. It was sold at auction, in Philadelphia, on Feb. 14 and 15, and June 3, 1913. The catalogues of the two sales enumerated 2466 items, many of which embraced a number of autographs. His complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence was be-

queathed to the University of Pennsylvania; but another set, nearly complete, was included in his series of the Members of the Continental Congress.

Among the more noteworthy items, the following may be mentioned:

Arnold, Gen. Benedict. L. S. 4 pages 4to, 1778. Important military letter. \$260.

Burgoyne, Gen. Sir John. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1777. \$150.

Greene, Gen. Nathanael. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1777. \$65.

Hale, Capt. Nathan [the Martyr Spy]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1775. \$1500.

Kosciuszko, Gen. Thaddeus. A. L. S. 4 pages 4to. Revolutionary letter. \$235.

Mercer, Gen. Hugh. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1776. \$172.

Montgomery, Gen. Richard. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. Camp, St. Johns, 1775. \$280.

Putnam, Gen. Israel. L. S. 4to, 1776. \$100.

Revere, Paul. A. L. S. 4to, 1791. \$95.

Scammell, Col. Alexander. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1779. \$50.

Warren, Gen. Joseph. A. L. S. 4to, 1775. \$212.50.

Jones, John Paul. A. L. S. 4to, 1777. \$400.

Lynch, Thomas, Jr. Signature "Lynch" cut from the title page of a book. \$175.

- Morton, John* [Signer]. D. S. 4to, 1776. \$24.
Taylor, George [Signer]. D. S. folio. \$52.
Livingston, William [Governor of N. J.]. A. L. S. folio, 1777. \$38.
Washington, George. A. L. S. 4to, 1785. \$320.
Adams, John. A. L. S. 3 pages 4to, 1785. \$80.
Lincoln, Abraham. A. L. S. 2 pages 8vo, 1860. In reference to his nomination. \$900.
Chase, Samuel [Signer]. A. L. S. 3 pages folio. \$130.
Boone, Daniel [Pioneer]. A. D. S. folio, 1786. \$43.
Burns, Robert [Poet]. A. L. S. 8vo. \$80.
Byron, Lord [Poet]. A. L. S. 8vo, 1815. \$55.
Lafayette, General. A. L. S. 4to. Valley Forge, 1778. \$160.
Washington, Martha. A. L. S. 4to. \$650.
Henry VIII [King of England]. Vellum D. S. folio, 1540. \$170.

THE THACHER COLLECTION.

John Boyd Thacher, of Albany, N. Y., was known, for many years prior to his death, as one of the leading collectors in the United States. He was a scholar, and the author of several valuable works on the early history of America. His antiquarian taste led him, in early life, to commence the acquisition of interesting

letters and manuscripts; particularly such as fell directly within the line of his historical pursuits. Having large pecuniary resources, the steady prosecution of his hobby for more than forty years enabled him to accumulate a very large, and remarkably fine and valuable collection of letters, foreign as well as American; in which rarities were of frequent occurrence. His favorite foreign series was that of the French Revolution; which [it is said] he had so fully completed as to make it unrivaled in the United States and without a superior abroad.

The collection—excluding the French Revolution series—was sold at auction, in six parts, during the years 1913, 1914 and 1915. A tolerably correct idea of its character and extent may be had from the following general statement of the various elements comprised in it:

1. Dutch Governors of New Netherlands. Peter Minuit, Wm. Kieft, Pieter Stuyvesant, Wouter van Twiller.
2. Early New England and Massachusetts Bay. William Bradford, John Alden, Myles Standish, Roger Williams, and many others.
3. Colonial Governors. Henry Sloughter, Sir E. Andros, Leisler, Francis Lovelace, William Penn, and many others.

4. Early Governors and explorers of New France. Frontenac, D'Iberville, Joliet, La Salle, and others.
5. Famous early celebrities and divines.
6. Stamp Act and Continental Congresses.
7. Revolutionary celebrities. John Paul Jones, Major André, Nathan Hale, George and Martha Washington, Joseph Warren, and many others.
8. Literary and historical celebrities.
9. Signers of the Declaration of Independence.
10. Presidents of the U. S.
11. Miscellaneous. Saint Vincent de Paul, Ignatius Loyola, Francis de Sales, and others.
12. English statesmen, from Henry VIII. to Charles II.
13. English authors. Sir Francis Bacon, Sir Thos. Browne, Oliver Goldsmith, Thomas Gray, Ben Jonson, John Keats, John Locke, Thomas Chatterton, Robert Burton, De Foe, Dryden, Byron, Burns, and many others.
14. European celebrities.
15. Composers. Bach, Beethoven, Glück, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and others.
16. Celebrated women. Lucretia Borgia, Bianca Capello, Madame de Maintenon, and others.

17. English artists. Gainsborough, Hogarth, Kneller, and others.

THE JOLINE COLLECTION.

Of all the American collectors of autographs who were living in 1913, few were as well known as Adrien H. Joline. He was a lawyer, residing in New York City; and during the larger part of his long, active and useful life he devoted the hours that could be spared from his professional pursuits to the collection of books and autographs. His large scholarship, his ability as a writer, and his love for his hobby are shown in the numerous works that came from his pen; among which his "Meditations of an Autograph Collector" and "Rambles in Autograph Land" are charming specimens of the way in which a subject, somewhat dry to those who do not belong to the fraternity of collectors, can be made interesting to the general reader. They have been aptly described as "characterized by humor, philosophy, shrewd observations of men and events, deep insight into political history and social life, strong human sympathy, and an intimate knowledge of the best literature."

The years that he gave to the acquisition of his treasures made him, at the time of his death, the pos-

sector of one of the largest and finest collections ever formed in the United States. It was disposed of at auction, in New York, in nine instalments, at various dates between Dec. 15, 1914, and Feb. 24, 1916.

In addition to a large number of books that were extra-illustrated by the insertion of many letters and portraits—some of them containing such complete series as those of the Presidents of the U. S. and the Justices of the Supreme Court of the U. S.—the collection covered so wide a field, both American and foreign, that any detailed statement of its component parts would be out of the question. All that can be said is that it included, in the American line, a complete set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, fine letters of most of the Generals and more prominent officers of the Revolutionary War, many letters of Gen. Washington, a number of fine literary manuscripts of the most noted authors, etc., etc. In the foreign line, sovereigns, military and naval officers, authors, statesmen, noted women, and Napoleon and his Marshals, were represented by most of the leading names.

A few items, selected from a large number that are of equal importance, will now be specifically noted, to give some indication of the prices realized:

Arnold, Gen. Benedict. A. L. S. 2 pages folio, 1780.
\$140.

- Washington, George.* A. L. S. 4to, 1796. \$112.50.
Washington, Martha. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to, 1782. \$159.
Stuyvesant, Peter. D. S. large 4to, 1664. \$140.
Penn, William. A. L. S. folio, 1682. \$235.
Bacon, Sir Francis [Baron Verulam. Lord Chancellor].
D. S. folio, 1619. \$165.
Elizabeth [Queen of England]. Vellum L. S. oblong
folio. \$110.
Garrick, David [Actor]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to. \$105.
Goldsmith, Oliver. D. S. large folio. \$385.
Hogarth, William. D. S. folio, 1775. \$63.
Lamb, Charles and Mary. A. L. S. 2½ pages 4to, 1811.
\$315.
Napoleon Bonaparte. L. S. 4to, 1812. To Marshall
Grouchy. \$155.
Richardson, Samuel [Novelist]. A. L. S. 3 pages small
4to, 1753. \$80.
Sterne, Laurence [Novelist]. A. L. S. 2 pages 4to,
1764. \$125.
Thackeray, William M. A. L. S. 3 pages 12 mo., 1857.
\$126.
Gibber, Colley [Actor]. A. L. S. 4to, 1753. \$45.

CHAPTER XII.

CONCERNING PUBLIC COLLECTIONS OF AUTOGRAPHS.

I. EUROPEAN.

IN France the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris has, probably, the largest number of autographs of first importance. Its manuscript department contains many notable collections formed in centuries past by distinguished public or private characters for historical purposes, which passed to the Bibliothèque either by gift or purchase. In the Mazarine gallery of this institution one may see displayed letters or manuscripts of nearly all the names that are noted in French history, beginning with a document bearing the signature of John II., surnamed "Le Bon," who ascended the French throne in 1350, and coming down to modern times. Here are to be found such rarities

as the autographs of Charles V., Bertrand Du Guesclin, Agnes Sorel, Montaigne, Pierre Corneille, Molière, and Jean de la Bruyère; as well as the autograph manuscripts of Blaise Pascal's "*Pensées*," La Fontaine's tragedy of "*Achille*," Fénelon's "*Télémaque*," and others of great value.

The National Archives contain, as a matter of course, a wealth of autographic material, in which all the kings of France are represented by charts or letters. The oldest of these autographs is a signature of king Dagobert I. on a diploma of the year 628. A handsome 4to volume, published in 1872 under the title of "*Musée des Archives Nationales*," and illustrated with numerous facsimiles, gives a detailed statement of the autographs and manuscripts in this collection.

Several of the public libraries in Paris, and many of those in other parts of France, also have considerable collections.

The other countries of Continental Europe have, in addition to their collections of State papers, large gatherings of autographs in their public libraries. The library of Berlin is particularly rich in such possessions.

In Italy, the archives of Rome, Milan, Florence, Venice, Turin and Naples are full of autographs, as are the archives of Simancas in Spain.

The libraries of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland are not without a considerable quantity of precious manuscript matter.

In England, the great depository of autographs is the British Museum, in London. Its possessions in this line are unequaled except, perhaps, by the Bibliothèque Nationale. In addition to the magnificent collections of Sir John Cotton, Sir Hans Sloane, Robert Harley [Earl of Oxford], the Marquis of Lansdowne and Lord Egerton, which were acquired by gift, it has, for hundreds of years, added to its treasures by the purchase of letters or documents of all important persons whose autographs were lacking; so that there is scarcely a single name of prominence, of any nationality or any modern time, which is not now represented in its manuscript department.

The National Archives in the Public Record office are, as will naturally be taken for granted, of great size and importance.

II. AMERICAN.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

The American Antiquarian Society, located at Worcester, Mass., was founded by Isaiah Thomas, noted as

a printer and publisher, and as the author of a "History of Printing." Incorporated on Oct. 24, 1812, it has been wonderfully successful in its acquisitions of books, newspapers and manuscripts; and it now ranks as one of the great libraries of the country for students of American history and allied subjects. The Society's "Handbook of Information" states that "from a few groups of manuscripts, chiefly of a local or personal character, there has succeeded a collection of over 35,000 pieces, largely national in its scope."

Cotton Mather is represented by nearly 300 letters; and there are many, and important, manuscripts by him and by Richard and Increase Mather. There is much material illustrative of the French and Indian War, and a very extensive collection relating to the Revolutionary War. Included in the latter are numerous military papers of Generals John Nixon and William Heath, and letters of Generals Washington, Greene, Schuyler, Stirling, Gates, Conway, Charles Lee and Arnold. One of the most interesting manuscripts in the collection is the reply of the garrison at West Point to Washington's farewell address, Nov. 10, 1783.

There are letters of Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of men who were noted in the Continental Congress, and thousands of miscellaneous letters and manuscripts of a later date.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

The character and extent of the manuscript collections of the Library of Congress are briefly stated in a leaflet which has been issued for the information of the public, from which the following quotations are made: "The Library is the custodian of about 600 separate collections of manuscripts, varying in size from collections which comprise only a few documents to those which contain many thousands. There are at least a million separate manuscripts in the combined collections. They cover the whole field of history—political, military, scientific, artistic, religious, literary, social, and economic. For example, there are the papers of eleven of the Presidents of the United States; of the Continental Congress; of Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Daniel Webster, William L. Marcy, James H. Hammond (of S. C.), and Edwin M. Stanton; of Generals Sherman, McClellan, and Beauregard; of Paul Jones, Alexander Cockburn, and Ericsson; of Simon Newcomb and Matthew F. Maury; of Rev. John Witherspoon and Rev. Moses Waddell; of Louise Chandler Moulton and William Gilmore Simms; of Dolly Madison and Margaret Bayard Smith; and the account books of plantations and old mercantile firms. . . . The collections have come to the Library, some

by transfer from other Departments of the Government, but most of them from the descendants of the historical characters to whom the manuscripts pertain. Some of the collections are obtained by gift, some by purchase, and some are deposited, the title remaining with the depositors."

From the long list of the more important collections of personal papers—other than those before mentioned—in the possession of the Library, the following may be named as fairly representative of the entire number: John Archdale [Colonial Governor], Gen. Jacob Brown [War of 1812], Aaron Burr, Salmon P. Chase, Henry Clay, Gen. George Clinton [Revolutionary War], Gen. James Clinton [Revolutionary War], John J. Crittenden [Statesman], John Fitch [Inventor], Albert Gallatin, Sir William Johnson [French and Indian War], James Kent [Jurist], Hugh McCulloch [Statesman], John McLean [Jurist], George Mason [Statesman], Commodore Edward Preble, John Sherman [Statesman], Gen. Adam Stephen [Revolutionary War], Thaddeus Stevens, Lyman Trumbull [Statesman], Elihu B. Washburne [Statesman], Gideon Welles [Statesman], Henry Wilson [Vice-President], and William Wirt [Statesman].

THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The manuscript collections of the Connecticut Historical Society are extensive and important. They cover the Colonial period, from an early date; the French and Indian War; the Revolutionary War; and they come down to the present day. Of the component parts of this large mass of material a few, having a special interest, may be mentioned as illustrative of the general character of the collections:

Correspondence of the Colony and State of Connecticut with other Colonies and with Congress, 1753–1809.

Deane, Silas. Correspondence of, 1771–1789.

Fitch, Gov. Thomas. Official correspondence, 1754–1766.

Greene, Gen. Nathanael. Letters from him, 1778–1785.

Hale, Capt. Nathan [the Martyr Spy]. His diary, and letters addressed to him, 1773–1776.

Johnson, William Samuel. His correspondence from 1765 to 1790.

Law, Gov. Jonathan. His official correspondence from 1741 to 1750.

Occum, Samson [Indian preacher]. His correspondence.

Revolutionary War. Muster rolls, orderly books, and letters from soldiers and others concerning the war.

Talcott, Gov. Joseph. His official correspondence from 1724 to 1741.

Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan. Political, official, and personal letters, and other papers, extending over nearly the whole period of his life.

Trumbull, Col. Jonathan, Jr. Military letters while Paymaster General [1775-8], personal and business letters [1773-1809], letters from members of Congress [1790-1809], and letters from the U. S. Government [1778-1809].

Wadsworth, Col. Jeremiah [member of the Continental Congress]. His correspondence from 1777 to 1803.

Williams, William [Signer of the Declaration of Independence]. His correspondence from 1760 to 1800.

Wolcott, Oliver [Secretary of the treasury and Governor of Conn.]. Letters to him from his father [one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence], Gen. Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, Oliver Ellsworth, Geo. Cabot, Fisher Ames, and many others of the leading men of his day.

THE DREXEL INSTITUTE, PHILADELPHIA.

The manuscript collections of the Drexel Institute contain the manuscripts and autographs collected

by the late Mr. George W. Childs, and presented by him, during his lifetime, to the Library. They consist of valuable original manuscripts of modern authors, and autograph letters of noted persons. Among the treasures of the collection are the original manuscript of Dickens's "Our Mutual Friend," bound in two volumes, closely written, as it was sent to the printer, with innumerable erasures and insertions; an autograph manuscript of Thackeray's "Lecture on George III.," handsomely bound and extra-illustrated with portraits and original drawings and water-colors by Thackeray (the identical copy from which he read when he lectured in America); the original manuscript of Poe's "Murders in the Rue Morgue"; of Lamb's "Essay on Witches and other Night Fears," signed "Elia"; of Bremer's "Hertha"; of Godwin's "Cloudesley, a Novel"; of André's "The Cow Chace," and of many other important works. The autograph letters comprise, among others, a set of letters from the Presidents of the United States; the Pinkerton correspondence (in four volumes), including letters from many noted Englishmen, of the latter part of the eighteenth century, to John Pinkerton; and collections of miscellaneous letters written by English and American authors and statesmen.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

In addition to a large quantity of local historical matter in the manuscript department of the Maine Historical Society, its collections include such important papers as those of Gen. Henry Knox, Sir William Pepperell, Dr. Silvester Gardiner, Gov. William King, and the Longfellow family. The letter-book of Benedict Arnold during his expedition to Quebec, presented to the Society by Aaron Burr in 1831, is an interesting relic of the American Revolution.

In point of value and general attractiveness, the collection formed by the late Dr. John S. H. Fogg, of South Boston, and bequeathed by him to the Society, overshadows all the other manuscript material in its possession. It numbers between four and five thousand papers, arranged in fifty-nine volumes, and includes letters and documents of Colonial Governors, Generals of the Revolution, members of the Continental Congress, and most of the noted men and women of America, in all ranks of life, from Colonial days to modern times. Its set of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence is complete and very fine.

Foreign autographs are represented by Ferdinand and Isabella, Queen Elizabeth, Oliver Cromwell, Napo-

leon Bonaparte, William Harvey [discoverer of the circulation of the blood], John Keats [a love-letter to Fanny Brawn], Jane Austen, Charlotte Brontë, and many more who are noted in history or literature.

THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

This Society has, among its numerous manuscript collections, many letters of Thomas Jefferson, a complete set of letters of the Presidents of the U. S., and a quantity of miscellaneous, political, and literary papers [known as the W. K. Bixby Collection].

Its most important historical manuscripts are the following named:

Spanish Archives, 1769–1805, relating to the history of Louisiana.

St. Louis Archives, French, Spanish, and English. 1766–1809.

St. Genevieve Archives, 1746–1855.

François Vallé collection, St. Genevieve, 1791–1847.

New Madrid Archives, 1791–1804.

The papers of Charles Dehault Delassus, the last Spanish Governor of Upper Louisiana.

Mexican War papers.

Papers of Senator Thomas H. Benton.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The manuscripts in the possession of this Society are chiefly of an historical nature. Its most important collections are the twenty-five volumes of letters of Daniel Webster and the four volumes of letters and papers of Gen. John Sullivan, of the Revolutionary War. The Hibbard papers, which relate in part to the Revolutionary War and in part are of an autographic nature, consist of letters of distinguished men, mostly of this country, for the last two hundred years. There are, in addition, numerous small collections and many miscellaneous manuscripts.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The archives of the New York Historical Society contain fifty-eight volumes of original manuscripts covering the Colonial period, represented in the Colden, de Peyster, Lloyd, and Leggett papers. The Revolutionary period embraces the Gates, Lamb, Steuben, Stirling, Reed, McDougall, Duer, Stewart, and McLane papers, and a collection of Orderly books. It also contains the correspondence, in nine volumes, of

James Duane. There are, in addition, many papers of a later period, included in the Gallatin, Hone, Barclay, King, and Thomas papers.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

The manuscript collections in the New York Public Library are, beyond question, much larger and more important than those in any other Public Library in the United States.

The Emmet collection alone contains 10,800 pieces, embracing complete series of the Albany Convention of 1754, the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, the Continental Congress of 1774, the entire Continental Congress, the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, the Signers of the Articles of Confederation, the Generals of the American Revolution, Washington and his military family, the Annapolis Convention, the Federal Convention, and the first Federal Administration. Some of these series—especially those of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence—are either unrivaled or unexcelled in any other collection.

In the field of American literature the Library has the extensive correspondence of Evert A. and George

L. Duyckinck, which includes letters from nearly every American literary character from 1840 to 1855. In English literature, it has one or more letters of Robert Burns, William Cowper, Oliver Goldsmith, Dr. Samuel Johnson, Alexander Pope, Sir Walter Scott, and Robert Southey. It also has the good fortune to be the possessor of an autograph letter of the poet Milton, written to his friend Carlo Dait, of Florence. This great rarity was, in connection with some other material relating to Milton, purchased from B. Quaritch, in 1882, for £42.

The Library also owns the following named separate collections:

The Rich collection, of about 142 volumes, relating to Spanish-America.

The Chalmers Collection, of 25 volumes, containing material for a history of the revolt in the American Colonies.

The Hardwicke collection, of 140 volumes, relating to English history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Bancroft collection, consisting of original papers and transcripts collected by George Bancroft for his historical work; and comprising the extensive correspondence of Samuel Adams [one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence], the letters and papers

relating to the German auxiliary troops in the American Revolution, the papers of Joseph Hawley [the patriot, of Northampton, Mass.], and numerous letters of distinguished Americans.

The Myers collection, formed by Col. T. Bailey Myers, contains about 1600 pieces, chiefly autograph letters and documents of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. It includes Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Members of the Continental Congress, Generals of the Revolutionary War, distinguished Englishmen and Frenchmen, Hessian officers, and the papers of Gen. Daniel Morgan.

The Ford collection, made by Gordon L. Ford and his sons, between 1840 and 1898, is of a varied character. It is composed mainly of autographs of Americans of the Revolutionary period and the nineteenth century, and contains about 60,000 loose pieces and some bound volumes.

The Schuyler Revolutionary papers number about 2430 items, consisting of letters to Gen. Philip Schuyler from military officers, members of Congress, Committees of Safety, etc., 1761-1802. The greater part of them relate to the conduct of the war in the Northern Department, 1775-1777.

THE NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.

The manuscript department of the New York State Library constituted, prior to the fire which worked such destruction to its contents, "the largest and most important body of archives in the possession of the State. The manuscripts were acquired by gift, by purchase, and by transfer from various State offices, during a period of sixty-five years, and embraced practically all that had been preserved of the executive, legislative, and judicial records of the administration of the province under Dutch régime [1630-1664, 1673-4]; the executive and legislative papers, other than land papers, of the English Colonial administration; the executive and legislative papers of the Provincial administration during the Revolution; the correspondence of Sir William Johnson, and of Governors George Clinton and Daniel D. Tompkins."

Notwithstanding the serious losses incurred by the fire—principally in the records of the English Colonial period, the Sir William Johnson papers, the Clinton papers, and the Tompkins papers—a vast amount of valuable manuscript material remains. It includes a series of letters and documents of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, André papers [13 manuscripts], Washington's opinion of the surviving Generals

of the Revolution [written in the winter of 1791-2, after St. Clair's defeat], draft of Washington's Farewell Address [written in the Spring of 1796], and draft of Lincoln's first Emancipation Proclamation [Sept. 22, 1862].

There are 61 volumes of New York Colonial manuscripts, illustrating the civil and political history of the Colony from its first settlement to the time of the American Revolution; 13 volumes of the public and private papers of Sir William Johnson; and 10 volumes of the papers of General [and Governor] George Clinton. Among miscellaneous manuscripts there are papers relating to the household affairs of President Washington in 1790, British Colonial army papers and accounts, autograph letters of American officials and authors, and a large collection of papers of Ethan Allen, Ira Allen, and other Vermonters [known as the Stevens papers].

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The manuscript department of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania greatly exceeds, in size and importance, that of any other Historical Society in the United States. It contains over 3,000 volumes of let-

ters and documents, and thousands of loose papers; aggregating a total of not less than 500,000 items, and probably nearly twice that number.

The Penn manuscripts are contained in 210 of these volumes; which include 234 autograph letters or documents of William Penn, 160 of them being full autograph letters signed.

The collection is particularly rich in autographs of Gen. Washington, having 128 A. L. S. folio or 4to, 185 L. S. folio or 4to, 6 A. D. S., 9 autograph documents unsigned, and 25 D. S.—a total of 353. It also contains Washington's pocket diary of the weather from January to June, 1796; entirely in his handwriting.

Of letters and documents of Benjamin Franklin there are, in the collection, 42 A. L. S. folio or 4to, and 160 A. D. S., L. S., D. S., and unsigned autograph documents.

The Wayne collection comprises over 2000 letters and drafts of letters of Gen. Anthony Wayne, covering the entire period of the Revolutionary War and his campaign against the Western Indians.

Among the papers of James Wilson, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, there is the original draft of the Constitution of the United States.

The five volumes of the papers of Thomas McKean [a Signer of the Declaration of Independence] contain

letters from Washington, Franklin, and many other Revolutionary statesmen and soldiers.

The Joel R. Poinsett papers contain much of his correspondence with Andrew Jackson during the Nullification period.

The correspondence of James Buchanan, extending from 1813 to 1868, contains a great number of letters of men who were prominent in public life during those years.

The Dreer, Etting, Conarro, and other collections, furnish letters and documents of all the noted men of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. The Dreer collection alone numbers about 15,000 autograph letters and documents, covering the entire field of American history; and including, in its treasures, hundreds of letters of British and Continental celebrities, of all modern periods and in all the walks of life. The British literary series is especially full, from the reign of Elizabeth to the twentieth century; and contains, among other gems, a D. S. of the poet Milton.

The Society has two complete sets of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, another set complete with the exception of Lynch, and two others that are complete with the exception of Lynch and Gwinnett. It has complete sets of the Albany Convention and the Federal Convention. The Stamp Act Congress lacks



FERDINAND J. DREER

one name only; and the Continental Congress and Generals of the Revolutionary War are almost complete.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has about 200,000 manuscripts, which deal with the history of the Colony and State from 1636 to the present time. The principal series are the Rhode Island Historical Society manuscripts, the Foster papers, the Moses Brown papers, the Greene papers, the military papers, the Harris papers, the Champlin papers, and the Channing-Ellery papers.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Virginia Historical Society has, in its possession, a number of interesting collections relating to the Colonial and Revolutionary history of the State; the most important of which are the Philip Ludwell, the Randolph, the Lee, and the Campbell papers, and those relating to the Custis family.

It is specially rich in letters of Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe; of Edmund Pendleton; of Generals Lafayette and Knox; of Chief Justice John

Marshall; of the Lee families; and of the British General William Phillips, who was a prisoner of war, in command of the "Convention troops," at Charlottesville, Va. It probably owns more letters of Gen. Washington than any other Historical Society in the United States, with the single exception of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.

This Society has an unusually large and rich collection of manuscripts, embracing hundreds of volumes of letters, documents, etc., that have special reference to the history of Wisconsin and to its military history during the Civil War.

The Lyman C. Draper manuscript collection, which is probably the most important part of the treasures of the Society, alone consists of 469 folio volumes. It comprises six volumes of data relative to the Mecklenburg declaration of independence; while other volumes contain early manuscripts relative to Alabama, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and King's Mountain. The wealth of historical material laboriously gathered by Dr. Draper during the greater portion of his life baffles description in any short notice.

While he was Secretary of the Society much attention was given to the collection of autographs. "As a result the Society has several valuable series. Most noteworthy are the two containing the autographs of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Signers of the Constitution. Another interesting set is that of the Presidents of the Old Congress. The Society also possesses the autographs of most of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States, of many of the Generals of the Revolutionary War, and of a large number of Kentucky pioneers. It has also received, from many sources, a large number of autographs of prominent men in America and Europe."

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE MIGRATION AND THE PEDIGREES OF AUTOGRAPHS.

THE passage of important autograph letters and documents from one collection to another prompts a few remarks on what, in the heading of this chapter, is called the migration of autographs. When we learn, in a general way, that many of the great collections formed in years gone by and dispersed after the death of their respective owners, contained specimens of names that are now seldom met with or are practically unobtainable, we are apt to conclude that the rarity of these names has been exaggerated. This belief, however, quickly disappears when we discover that, not infrequently, the identical letter or document has traveled from collection to collection, taking its place, in turn, in several of them. Thus, a letter of André Chénier, which in

1827 was sold for 20 francs 95 centimes, and which had become part of the great Fillon collection, passed in succession into the noted collections of Alfred Bovet and Alexander Cohn, and was disposed of, after the death of Mr. Cohn, for the sum of 780 marks, or more than forty-five times the price it had brought in 1827. To one who does not trace the lineage of letters it might seem as though four different letters of Chénier had been sold, in the few collections named, since the year 1827, and that this autograph could not, therefore, be rare; whereas, in point of fact, a single letter, only, was sold as it journeyed from one home to another.

The catalogue of the Trémont collection has, as one of its important items, a sketch in ink, by the great painter Raphael, of two heads of horses, with the arms of men, containing five lines in his handwriting, with the date 1510. The following note is appended: "This drawing formed part of the collection of Prince de Ligne. It then passed into the collection of Comte de Fries; thence to that of Prof. Bohm, of Vienna; and lastly into that of M. Donnadieu, who had bought it from a Mons. Hertz, paying 1000 francs for it. At the Donnadieu sale in London it was bought by Baron de Trémont." Here we have six migrations of the same paper.

It would be very easy, though tiresome, to multiply

instances of this kind. The fact, however, should be noted, that a lineage like that named in the two cases cited, where the stamp of genuineness has been so firmly fastened upon the letter, gives the paper additional value. The best known dealers in France—the Charavay family—fully recognize this fact; and it has been their custom, for many years past, in the preparation of catalogues, to name, as far as possible, the sources from which the letters were obtained.

The poet Southey says: "A book is the more valuable to me when I know to whom it has belonged, and through what 'scenes and changes' it has passed. I would have its history recorded in the fly-leaf; and I am sorry when I see the name of a former owner obliterated in a book, or the plate of his arms defaced." If he had been writing about autographs, instead of books, would he not have said that an autograph would be more valuable to him "when he knew to whom it had belonged and through what scenes and changes it had passed"?

No apology is needed for quoting the following beautiful passage from Mr. Frederick R. MacDonald's entertaining brochure entitled "In a Nook with a Book." His words about the feeling of the book-lover towards his treasures are equally true of the feeling the autograph-lover has for the personal memorials he

has gathered. "I have," he says, "a special affection for a volume that comes to me at second, or at twentieth, hand. No possessions that our predecessors have left behind them are so truly a part of themselves, or link us so directly with those who have joined 'the choir invisible,' as the books they once handled and read. We are all of us moved, more or less, at sight of the personal relics of the illustrious dead—the mouldering helmet of the Black Prince, Newton's telescope, Nelson's sword, Wesley's teapot, and the like. I have seen the visitor visibly affected at sight of a hero's cocked hat, or wig, or snuff box in the glass case of a museum. The lifeless thing, with no touch of grace or beauty in it, helps the imagination. The past is brought back, and that which has long been dead is for the moment quickened to something like life. But a man's books will bring him nearer to us than his old clothes or trinkets can. A book that has served the studies, or helped the devotion, or furnished the recreation of a once living man or woman, is itself almost a living thing, with human memories and associations lastingly inwrought. Your book-lover knows and feels all this. When he handles an old book he has an eye for former owners' names, for inscriptions, for marginalia, for notes of any kind suggesting human personality—in some cases a recognizable personality, but

for the most part one of which a faint and shadowy perception is all that is possible. I have volumes on my shelves that have had a history—that much is plain—and they drop hints, so to speak, of the places they have lived in and the company they have kept. It is impossible to question them, as I have often wished to do, or at least to get an answer to one's questions. They are reserved, and, like people we have met, never speak freely of their past, but by an allusion now and again they give glimpses of it that one makes a note of."

While a letter is no more gifted with the power of speech than is a book, there is, nevertheless, much that it can tell to one who seeks to learn its biography in a spirit of affection for its voiceless body. By way of illustration let us take a very remarkable letter of the unfortunate king of England known in history as "the Royal Martyr." It was written to the Marquis of Ormond, his commander in Ireland, just after the disastrous defeat of the king's main army at Naseby, and bears date July 31, 1645.

Any one who reads the letter with an accurate knowledge of this unfortunate Monarch's distinguishing characteristics, and of the forlorn state of his cause at this time, can easily form, in imagination, a picture of him as, with a heavy heart and intense distress of mind, he wrote these words.

Cardif 31 July 1645

Ormond, it hath pleased God, by many successive misfortunes, to reduce my affaires of late from a very prosperous condition, to so low an eb, as to be a perfect tryel of all mens' integrities to me, and you being a person whom I consider as most entyrly and generously resolved to stand and fall with your King, I doe principally rely upon you for your utermost assistance in my present hazards. I have comanded Digby to acquainte you at large with all particulars of my condition, what I have to hope, trust too, or feare, wherein you will fynde, that if my expectation of relife out of Irland be not in some good measure, and speedely answered, I am lykely to be reduced to great extremities. I hope some of those expresses I sent you, since my misfortune by the Battaile of Nazeby, ar come to you, and am therfor confident that you ar in a good forwardness for the sending over to me a considerable supply of Men, Artillery, and Amunition. All that I have to add is, that the necessety of your speedy performing them, is made much more pressing by new disasters, so that I absolutely command you [what hazard soever that Kingdome may run by it] personally to bring up all the Forces, of what sort soever you can draw from thence, and leave the Government there [during your absence] in the fittest hands that you shall

judge to discharge it, for I may not want you heere to comand those forces which will be brought from thence, and such as, from hence, shall be joyned to them. But you must not understande this, as a permission for you to grant to the Irish [in case they will not otherwais have a Peace] anything more in matter of Religion than what I have alowed you allready, except only, in some convenient Parishes, where the much greater number ar Papists, I give you power to permitt them to have some places, which they may use as Chapells for theire Devotions, if there be no other impediment for obtaining a Peace, but I will rather chuse to suffer all extremities, than ever to abandon my Religion, and particularly ether to English or Irish Rebels, to which effect I have comanded Digby to wryt to their Agents that were employed hither, giving you power to cause deliver, or suppress the letter, as you shall judge best for my services. To conclude, if the Irish shall so unworthily take advantage of my weake condition, as to presse me to that which I cannot grant with a safe Conscience, and withoute it to reject a Peace, I comand you, if you can, to procure a further Cessation, if not, to make what divisions you can among them, and rather leave it to the chance of Warr betweene them, and those Forces which you have not power to draw to my assistance, then to give my

consent to any such allowance of Popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that Profession which, by the grace of God, I shall ever maintaine through all extremities. I know, Ormond, that I impose a very hard Taske upon you, but if God prosper me, you will be a happy and glorious subject; if otherwais, you will perishe, nobly and generously, with and for him who is

your constant reall faithfull Frend,
Charles R.

This letter has been one of the gems in several notable collections. We first hear of it as belonging to a Mr. Baker, who had many other letters of historical importance. When his collection was sold in the year 1855, Mr. John Young became its purchaser at the price of £70. In 1869 Mr. Young's autographs were disposed of; and the letter passed into the hands of Mr. Addington, who paid £80 for it. In 1876, at the sale of the Addington collection, it was purchased by Mr. Morrison for £69 and had a place among his splendid manuscript possessions until, on their dispersal in December, 1917, it was sold to Quaritch for £160. Where will its next home be?

Many other letters could tell stories of extreme historical or personal interest. As an additional il-

lustration of the way in which they can speak to one who loves to learn their full biographies, a letter of the poet Keats to his betrothed, Fanny Brawne, may be taken.

On July 8, 1819—shortly after his engagement to Miss Brawne, and about nineteen months before his death in Italy—he writes to her:

My Sweet Girl:

Your letter gave me more delight than anything in the world but yourself could do; indeed I am almost astonished that my absent one should have that luxurious power over my senses which I feel. Even when I am not thinking of you I receive your influence and a tenderer nature stealing upon me. All my thoughts, my unhappiest days and nights have, I find, not at all cured me of my love of Beauty, but made it so intense that I am miserable that you are not with me. . . . I never knew before what such a love as you have made me feel, was. I did not believe in it; my Fancy was afraid of it, lest it should burn me up. But if you will fully love me, though there may be some fire it will not be more than we can bear when moistened and bedewed with Pleasures. . . . I would never see anything but Pleasure in your eyes, love on your lips, and Happiness in your steps.

me speak of you Beauty, though to my own endan-
gering if you could be so cruel to me as to try elsewhere
to Poem. You say you are afraid I shall think you
do not love me in saying this you make me wish
the more to be near you. I am at the diligent use
of my faculties here, I do not waste a day without
spinning some blank verse or tagging some
rhymes and here I must confess that, since I
am on that subject, I love you the more in
that I believe you have liked me for my
own sake and for nothing else. I have
met with women whom I really think would
like to be married to a Poem and to be given
away by a poet. I have seen your Comet, and
only wish it was a sign that poor Rice would
get well whose illness makes him rather a melan-
choly companion. and the more so as so to conquer
his feelings and hide them from me, with a forced
Pun. I liked your writing over me to hope you
had indulged me by leaving a trace of honey.
What was your dream? Tell it me and I will tell
you the interpretation thereof. Ever yours my love
John Hunt.

. . . Why may I not speak of your Beauty, since without that I could never have lov'd you. I can not conceive any beginning of such love as I have for you but Beauty. There may be a sort of love for which, without the least sneer at it, I have the highest respect and can admire it in others: but it has not the richness, the bloom, the full form, the enchantment, of love after my own heart. So let me speak of your Beauty, though to my own endangering, if you could be so cruel to me as to try elsewhere its Power. You say you are afraid I shall think you do not love me. In saying this you make me ache the more to be near you. I am at the diligent use of my faculties here. I do not pass a day without sprawling some blank verse or tagging some rhymes; and here I must confess that [since I am on that subject] I love you the more in that I believe you have liked me for my own sake and for nothing else. I have met with women whom I really think would like to be married to a Poem and to be given away by a Novel. . . . I kiss'd your writing over in the hope you had indulg'd me by leaving a trace of honey. What was your dream? Tell it me and I will tell you the interpretation thereof.

Ever yours my love!

John Keats.

As we read the words that speak the strength of his love, our hearts go out to him in deepest sympathy. We are reminded that consumption had carried off his brother, and had laid its fatal hold upon him; that his fine literary work did not earn him a living. We recall the fact that he well knew his marriage with Miss Brawne could not take place unless he could overcome both his disease and his poverty. We are filled with indignation at the merciless and cruel criticisms of the reviewers of that day—criticisms that sorely wounded his gentle, lovable nature, but that called forth no resentment from him: merely the reply: "I think I shall be among the English poets after my death." And while we ponder upon the loss that literature and poetry suffered in the death, in his early youth, of one so gifted, we unite with the English-speaking world in saying: "You thought rightly. You have an assured place, and a high one, among the great English poets."

CONVERSATIONS ABOUT AUTOGRAPHS.

First Conversation.

Mr. Young. I have called on you, Mr. Old, to ask your advice about a matter in which I intend to be guided by your judgment. A year or more ago a

friend gave me an autograph note of President Lincoln, written to his father; and, seeing the pleasure with which I received it, he invited me to look over his father's correspondence, and take from it what I desired. I did so; and in this way I obtained quite a number of letters of prominent men of the Civil War period. The more I got, the more I wanted. The fever for collecting had taken possession of me. Now, as I am a man of very moderate means, unable to indulge myself with any expensive taste; and as I am told that the rarer and more desirable autographs are commanding very high prices, and that common names alone can be had cheaply; the question I am considering is whether it would not be wise for me to abandon this hobby before it becomes so firmly established with me as to make it difficult for me to give it up.

Mr. Old. I do not know of any reason why I should advise you to give up the pursuit of one of the most improving and interesting of all recreations. It is true, as you have been told, that the prices of certain autographs have risen so greatly within the last fifteen or twenty years, that wealthy men alone can purchase them. But these autographs are very few in number when compared with the thousands of others that would receive a welcome to the portfolios of any one who does not confine himself to some special, and therefore

limited, line of collecting. When I tell you that some men who finally amassed very noteworthy collections spent fifty years or more of their lives in gathering their treasures, you will see that the pursuit of the hobby brings in its gains slowly but steadily, from month to month and year to year, until long continued alertness and watchful waiting accomplish the completion or extension of series after series. The greatest pleasure is derived from the gradual acquisition of your needs. You go on adding, little by little, to some favorite series; each successive gain being full of pleasure for you. When the work is done and the series completed, you are apt to allow your old love to be somewhat neglected, though never forgotten; and to become energetic in some other direction.

The fact that I want to convey to your mind by what I have said is that there is plenty of worthy material that is accessible to men who are not rich; enough indeed to engage their attention all their lives. The few greatest rarities are seldom acquired even by the millionaire collector; in fact I have never heard of more than one such collector whose indefatigable energy and great wealth enabled him, during many years, to outbid all competitors for the choicest and rarest autographs that appeared at public sales in any part of Europe or that were in the hands of dealers.

I refer to the late Mr. Morrison, an English merchant, who at the time of his death was the owner of a collection that is unequaled, except by the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, for the quality and character of the numerous gems it contains.

Names of first importance come slowly to those who seek them, and they are never likely to fall very much in value; because they are limited in quantity, and collectors are constantly increasing in number. Why, however, may not one whose purse will not permit the purchase of a full autograph letter signed of—let us say—Queen Elizabeth or Oliver Cromwell, content himself, at least for the time being, with a letter or document, merely signed, of either of them?

If, in the youth of your hobby, you purpose confining your attention to American autographs, I can tell you of many interesting series the formation of which you may undertake with the reasonable hope that you can go far towards completing them without the expenditure of much money. One of the most attractive of these series is that of the members of the Continental—sometimes called Old—Congress. As you know, this was the body that governed the United Colonies during the Revolutionary War, and it was composed of the most eminent statesmen and patriots of the day. Autograph letters or documents of most of the men

who were members of this Congress can be had at small cost; and, with few exceptions, nearly all the scarcer ones are procurable, from time to time, at prices that are not extravagant. For many years this was a favorite and leading series with collectors; but, for some unaccountable reason, the taste for it has, during recent times, lain dormant; the consequence being a large reduction in the prices asked for the names it includes.

Another instructive and patriotic series that you might attempt, with the certainty of success at very reasonable cost, is that of the Presidents of the United States and the Members of their Cabinets. This, too, was once a series that was undertaken by all collectors; but, while the Presidential series is universally popular—more so than ever—the Cabinet series is almost entirely neglected, and prices have suffered correspondingly.

A great number of miscellaneous names—United States Senators, Governors, authors, scientists, army and navy officers, and other notables—can be had for little more than a song.

A good series to attempt is that of the members of the first Congress organized under the Constitution of the United States. Most of the names can be had without difficulty.

Another series, equally easy of completion, is that of the "Peace Congress" of 1861; the membership of which comprised a large number of the leading statesmen of that day.

I ought not to omit calling your attention to one other series that has been steadily growing in the favor of collectors, and that is sure to become, in the near future, important and attractive. I refer to the Generals of the Civil War, Union and Confederate. According to my recollection, there are more than a thousand of them. War letters—that is, letters written from camp or field during the war—are considered choice, and bring much larger prices than those written before or after the war. Most of them are of plentiful occurrence at this time, and cost but little. I hope I have now said enough to convince you that my advice is good when I say, unqualifiedly, *stick to your hobby*.

Second Conversation.

Mr. Young. You will remember, Mr. Old, that when I first came to consult you, some months ago, in regard to the wisdom of attempting to form a collection of autographs, you told me to call on you for any information I might need for my guidance.

Adopting one of your suggestions, I commenced to collect letters and documents of the members of the Continental Congress, and I have been quite successful in getting a considerable number of them. The dealer who offers to sell me the letters, which I now show you, of Daniel Carroll, a member from Maryland, and John Swann, a member from North Carolina, says he has no doubt that they are written by the men whose autographs I want, but declines to give me a positive guarantee of that fact. Will you have the kindness to tell me what you think of them?

Mr. Old. One of the most important things for any man who is engaged in forming this series, or any other one, is to be particular in guarding against the inclusion of letters written by men who, while having the right name, were not the identical persons who were members; or, in other words, to see that he does not place in his collection letters written by *wrong men of the right name*. Neither of the letters you show me is what you want. There were two Daniel Carrolls of Maryland, who were contemporaries. One of them was Daniel Carroll of Duddington, who generally added the suffix to his signature, but sometimes omitted it, as he has done in this instance. He was not the member of Congress. Now, in regard to the letter of John Swan. The old Congressman from North Caro-

lina spelt his name with two n's—John Swann. There was, contemporaneously with him, a John Swan, who spelt his name with a single n. He was a Major of Baylor's regiment of dragoons in the Revolutionary War. The letter you show me is written by him.

If proper care were exercised, these mistakes should not occur. Yet such an experienced collector as Mr. Cist had, in his series of Old Congressmen, both of the *wrong men* we have been talking about, and Prof. Leffingwell had the wrong John Swann.

It may interest you to know that the fine collections of both these men were marred by errors of this kind—errors which, in many instances, were inexcusable. For example, in the Cist collection we find John Stevens, noted for his invention for driving a screw propeller by steam, instead of his father of the same name; and John Vining, *Senior*, of Delaware, instead of his son, John.

Among the Congressmen from Maryland, Robert Goldsborough, *Jr.*, a Judge of the Supreme Court of Maryland, is accepted in place of his father; William Harrison is a wrong man of the right name; and David Ross, an officer in the French and Indian War, represents the right Ross. Among Virginia Congressmen we find Mann Page, *Senior*, instead of the son, of that name; a Marylander named William Fitzhugh, who, of course,

was not the right man; and a James Henry who was a contemporary of the Congressman. When we come to the names in South Carolina and Georgia, we see Paul Trapier represented by the father of the Congressman, and John Walton by the son.

The Leffingwell collection had fewer errors of this kind; the most notable being those of William Fleming, of Virginia, William Gibbons, of Georgia, William Henry, of Pennsylvania, and Nicholas Van Dyke, of Delaware. These names were represented, respectively, by *Col.* William Fleming, William Gibbons, *Jun.*, a totally different William Henry, and Nicholas Van Dyke, *the younger*.

There are other names in the series about which you must be careful. In Pennsylvania, William Shippen, father and son, were contemporaries, and both of them were physicians. The *elder* Shippen was the congressman. Dr. David Jackson must not be confounded with another Philadelphian of the same name; and Matthew Clarkson, the member from Pennsylvania, must not have his place filled by *Major* Matthew Clarkson, who was an aide to General Arnold. Gunning Bedford, of Delaware, must not be represented by a Philadelphia carpenter, of that name; nor Jonathan Elmer, of New Jersey, by a contemporary Jonathan, who was a clergyman.

Perhaps the most serious and glaring error that has occurred, apparently without excuse, is in the acceptance of a letter of George Taylor, who belonged to the New Jersey Coast Guard in the Revolutionary War, as that of the Pennsylvania Signer of the Declaration of Independence. The handwriting and signatures of these two men are not at all similar; and yet I have known high prices to be paid by dealers, on at least two occasions, for letters of the wrong man. They have probably gone into collections whose owners are in happy ignorance of the truth.

Let me add a word or two about the autographs of members of the "Albany Convention" of 1754. There has been a great deal of blundering on the part of collectors in accepting, for a place in this series, letters of the wrong men. To particularize—Henry Sherburne, Roger Wolcott, and Martin Howard should, in each case, be the *Junior* of that name, while William Smith should be the *Senior*. The *Senior* John Chandler should not supplant, as he often does, his son of the same name.

I have said enough—perhaps more than enough—to caution you to be sure to get *the right man of the given name*, and not to accept the father instead of the son, or vice versa. The character of a collection depends, to a large extent, on the authenticity of its

component parts. There must be equal exclusion of the spurious item and of that which can not show its title to the place in which it is to be put.

Mr. Young. You have shown me, very clearly, some of the dangers I am likely to encounter. I shall certainly make every effort to avoid them; and I hope that, with your help, I shall succeed in doing so.

Third Conversation.

Mr. Young. I am trying to gather material for a set of letters of the Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States; and, though I am told that Aaron Burr is easily obtained, I have not, up to this time, had the opportunity of getting a letter written by him. Yesterday I was offered the letter which I now show you. It is dated April 9, 1776. On comparing the handwriting and signature with a facsimile of a letter of his dated in 1790, I do not see the slightest resemblance between the two papers. This fact leads me to think that some other man, of the same name, must have written the letter about which I am asking your opinion.

Mr. Old. I don't wonder that you have the doubt you express. Burr's early letters—those that he wrote as Aide-de-Camp to Gen. Putnam, and as a

- Beghaved to advise me as to the terms ;

I should offer -

V friend & Otho
Aaron Burr

17 June 95

immediately - before me by the first opportunity;

but as they are to be paid - I am I am his with

best wishes for yours

With your regards

A Burr

1. Conclusion of an autograph letter of Aaron Burr written in the year 1795, at the age of thirty-nine.
2. Autograph written in the year 1776, at the age of twenty, when he was an officer in the Continental Army.

Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental service—were the productions of a man less than, or very slightly over, twenty-one years old. At this time his handwriting strongly resembled a school boy's scrawl. It was totally unformed; and, as you have said, is utterly unlike that of a period some eight or ten years later, when, after a series of gradual changes, it had acquired the neat and legible form so familiar to collectors. You need have no hesitation in placing this letter in your collection, unless you prefer to wait for one of a later date. As a matter of fact his early military letters are a hundred times scarcer than those he wrote after he had reached a mature age.

Mr. Young. Are not these dissimilarities in the handwriting of a man, at different periods of his life, very unusual?

Mr. Old. You will find, in your progress as a collector, a number of interesting instances similar to that you have had with the Burr letter. I can cite a couple that are directly in point. The signature of J. Rodman Drake, the noted poet, at the age of seventeen bears only the shadow of resemblance to that at the age of twenty-one or twenty-two. The handwriting and signature of General Washington at the age of seventeen, though scrupulously neat, bears a

1070

I hope my presence
has not been of use
to you.

Richardson Junr

Yt may please your Exc^t Ma.

Still your day is past and well past; & gold is
to be Janus bifrons, it gave a glad aspect both to
the reign of past, and to the future; and doth
both satisfy and please.

Fr. Bacon

boyish character totally unlike his mature hand. During the succeeding five years it was shaping itself, little by little, into the well known hand which it acquired by the time Washington was twenty-five.

In contradistinction to these cases, there are others in which the handwriting became mature and fixed at a very early time of life. So it was with the precocious genius, Thomas Chatterton, who died at the age of eighteen, and with the lamented poet Henry Kirke White, who was only twenty-one at the time of his death.

The handwriting of Abraham Lincoln preserved, until the close of his life, its early form and neatness.

Of changes in the handwriting of eminent men none is more notable than that which occurs in the case of the illustrious Bacon, afterwards Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Albans. As Francis Bacon his handwriting and signature present characteristics very different from those which appear when he became Lord Chancellor and signed himself "Fr. Verulam, Canc."

Samuel Leigh Sotheby, the author of "Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton," had occasion to make a close study of handwriting, and became an acknowledged expert in this field. He says: "Comparatively few persons adopt any other

than the ordinary handwriting they use in their daily transactions. Their writing does not vary throughout their lives more than by its failure in precision and boldness as their physical powers decay. Of this fact numerous instances might be illustrated by facsimiles; while, on the other hand, many examples might be given of the handwriting of eminent persons, the character of which is totally different at various periods of their lives. More remarkable instances could not be adduced than in the autograph of Queen Elizabeth and Charles I, whose writing varied at different periods and under peculiar circumstances." Mr. Sotheby might have mentioned a number of causes, some of which seem to be mere trifles, that affect the character of the handwriting. The pen, the posture of the hand, the space at command for the writing, even the condition of the health, have a positive influence upon the formation of the written words.

While I am discussing handwriting, let me mention one or two facts which, possibly, may be of interest to you. Some day or other you will want an autograph letter, or at least a letter signed, of the great Napoleon. If you should succeed in getting a full letter, or one that has a few lines written by him, be prepared to find that you cannot decipher his words.

In the latter part of his life his handwriting became almost illegible, even to those who had long made a study of it.

If you should want—as you probably will at some stage of your collecting—a letter or document signed of the illustrious Cardinal Richelieu, be careful, before you buy, to have an expert say whether the signature is that of the Cardinal or of his Secretary, who succeeded in imitating his master's signature so closely as to make it difficult to distinguish one from the other. I spoke of a letter or document *merely signed*, because a full autograph letter signed of the Cardinal is a very great rarity.

Perhaps you have heard some people speak of the handwriting of Rufus Choate and Horace Greeley as being almost impossible to decipher. They tell fairy stories about the interpretations that have been placed on certain passages in letters of these men. Now, while it is true that their writing does not follow the models set down in the copy-books, and is neither beautiful nor easily read by one not accustomed to a variety of hands, it is equally untrue that their letters present the difficulties encountered with hieroglyphics.

Fourth Conversation.

Mr. Young. I have made a pretty good start on the series of Signers of the Declaration of Independence, and have secured more than twenty letters or documents of the men who affixed their names to this document. I know, as a matter of course, that the two rarest names in the series are those of Thomas Lynch, junior, and Button Gwinnett, and that I can never hope to get more than a mere signature of the one and perhaps a document signed of the other. I am offered at \$50—which I am told is a very low price—this book, having the signature of Thos. Lynch, junior, on the title page. The question in my mind is whether the signature is genuine. Will you tell me what you think of it?

Mr. Old. First of all, let me ask you about the source from which the book comes. Is it the property of a reputable dealer in autographs or of some person unknown to you? The importance of this question will be plain when I tell you that, in passing upon the genuineness of signatures on the title pages of books, the existence of a strong reason for believing that the book belonged to the person whose signature it is said to contain greatly helps us in reaching a correct conclusion.

Mr. Young. The book was brought to me by a stranger, who said he had heard Mr. A., a friend of mine, speak of my wish to obtain a Lynch signature. I asked him how long he had owned it and what he knew about its history. His answer was that his father had brought it, and many other books, with him when he moved from South Carolina. What impressed me more than anything else in regard to his good faith was that he was entirely willing to leave the book with me so that I might have it critically examined.

Mr. Old. As you have no proof whatever that the book ever belonged to Lynch, let us see whether a close examination of the signature will throw any light on the question of genuineness. A great many years ago, when Mr. Tefft and other collectors in the South were making an active search for autographs of this Signer, it was accidentally discovered that a Public Library in Charleston contained a number of books that had belonged to him and that contained his signature. As it occupied a very minute space at the top of the title page, its removal did little damage to the book. The signatures so obtained found their way, by exchanges, into all the leading American collections of the nineteenth century; and the supply, which probably never exceeded fifteen, became ex-

hausted. These signatures were written by Lynch when he was a very young man, and all of them are exactly alike. Let me show you one that I have. It is, as you see, "T Lynch Junr"; and the letters are very small, the whole writing being little more than an inch in length. Do you not observe several great differences between this signature and that in the book? In the first place, the book has it "*Thos. Lynch Junr*"; and he did not so write his name in books. Secondly, the writing lacks the firmness and precision of the acknowledged genuine signatures, and is a more flowing hand. Thirdly, and of great moment, the ink is evidently not of the period when the pretended signature was written. It shows no sign of being nearly one hundred and fifty years old, but, on the contrary, bears all the looks of an ink of modern manufacture. I have no hesitation in advising you to return the book to the man from whom you got it.

Mr. Young. You have taught me a lesson to be remembered. Certainly there must be many books in existence that contain the genuine autographs of distinguished men. Must we look with suspicion upon all that can not be positively shown to have belonged to the man whose signature they bear?

Mr. Old. No. To take that position would be going much too far. What we must do in all cases is

to apply the recognized tests, and judge by the results. Mr. Sotheby has considered this question in his "Ramblings." He says: "The success that has of late years attended the 'profession' of the forger of literary and antiquarian relics both abroad and at home, has had the effect of making the most learned and acute in such matters occasionally sceptical as to the genuineness of that of which they would not otherwise have entertained a doubt."

Please remember that there are plenty of books, printed in Continental Europe as well as in England in the seventeenth century, that can be had for a trifling price. Assume that some industrious forger wants to put on the title page of one of these books the signature of Francis Bacon. He gets a good facsimile of Bacon's handwriting, practices in copying it, and finally, when he has acquired sufficient skill to make an exact copy, he writes it on the title page of such a book of the period as one might suppose Bacon would admit to the shelves of his library. Or, he may adopt one of the ways in which a faint, but correct, tracing of the signature can be transferred to the paper, then to be gone over with ink. These forgeries are spoken of by Étienne Charavay and other experts as being common. In Volume 16 of the Cornhill Magazine there is an account of a German Bible

which was purchased by the British Museum at the Hibbert Sale, in 1829, for the sum of £267.15. It was said to have belonged to Luther up to the time of his death, and afterwards to Melancthon, Bugenhausen, and Major; and to contain the autographs of all these famous men. Mr. Sotheby pronounced all these signatures to be forgeries.

By what means, then, are such forgeries of mere signatures on title pages to be detected? You can not give them the same tests you can use in the case of letters. If the genuineness of a letter is doubted, among other tests you can take a single word and apply to it the proper chemical to inform you about the age and character of the ink. To test a mere signature in this way would be to ruin it. Inasmuch as the paper is surely of the period, your endeavor must be to ascertain whether the same thing is true of the ink. Dr. Scott discusses this matter in his "Autograph Collecting." He says: "With reference to the subject of ink, we need only consider one kind, since only one fluid has been used during the whole history of letter-writing until recent years, viz., ink made by macerating or infusing coarsely powdered nutgalls in pure water, in which green copperas [sulphate of iron] had been previously dissolved with sufficient gum arabic or animal glue added to cause the

fluid to flow readily from the pen and adhere to the paper. Nothing, however, connected with autographs requires closer or more attentive scrutiny, as hitherto the production of any liquid which will exactly resemble old ink has baffled all the art of the forger. . . . Few inks have ever produced enduring jet-black writing, but they generally result in peculiar shades of colour of their own through the long-continued action of the atmospheric oxygen, and thus old writings supply a wonderful variety of yellows, browns, and reds."

An expert, following the information given in Carvalho's "Forty Centuries of Ink," and in Blackburn and Caddell's "The Detection of Forgery," ought to be able to come to a reasonably correct conclusion whether the ink with which the alleged ancient signature was written is genuine ink of the period or whether it is of modern manufacture.

Fifth Conversation.

Mr. Young. I come to you again, Mr. Old, for information that I need. I am making very good progress with my set of autographs of the Members of the Continental Congress; but sometimes I am at a loss to know whether the high price I am asked to pay

for a letter on the ground of its rarity is justified by the fact. I know, of course, that rarity is one of the main factors in determining value; but I don't know which of the names in this long list are to be included in the *extremely rare*, the *very rare*, and the *rare*, categories.

Mr. Old. I am not at all surprised that you ask this question. Some sale catalogues describe a large number of the autographs named in them as rare or very rare; not for the purpose of deception, but chiefly because the cataloguer, having no real knowledge on this head, supposes that such a description of the item will make it more attractive. In other catalogues all designations of rarity or degrees of rarity are omitted, upon the presumption that the intelligent collector already has this knowledge. I think this mode is decidedly the better one.

Now I will try to answer your question. Your division of the degrees of rarity into *extremely rare*, *very rare*, and *rare*, is a good one. Unconsciously, perhaps, you are following, in part, the method originated by the great French collector, Benjamin Fillon, and adopted by the late Étienne Charavay in preparing the catalogue of that collection for the sale that took place in Paris in 1878. This method was to mark the degrees of rarity in the following manner: C [com-

mon]; R¹ [same as common], R², R³, R⁴, R⁵, R⁶, R⁷, R⁸, R⁹, to indicate the various degrees of progress in rarity; and R* to indicate excessive rarity, or, in other words, autographs that are either unique or *presque introuvables*.

Running over the names in the list of old Congressmen, I should say that in the category of *extremely rare* names—those that would be marked R⁸—place should be given to John Gardner [R. I.], and James Forbes and David Ross [Md.]. No letter of the *right* John Gardner has ever appeared for sale, nor is any known to exist in a private collection. His father [of the same name]—born in 1696, and died in 1770—was quite a noted man, and at one time was Deputy Governor of R. I. The autograph of the elder Gardner is common, and some collectors have allowed it to do duty for the autograph of the son.

No letter of James Forbes has appeared in any auction or sale catalogue; and the only known letter of the *right* David Ross is that which was sold at the Leffingwell sale, and resold when the collection of its purchaser was disposed of.

Among the *very rare* names—those that would be designated by R⁸ or R⁷—I should include George Champlin [R. I.]; Charles Humphreys and Joseph Montgomery [Pa.]; Edward Giles and John Rogers [Md.]; William Cumming, John Swann, Ephraim Bre-

vard, Joseph McDowell and John Stokes [N. C.]; Henry Middleton [S. C.]; and John Walton [Ga.].

In classifying these names as *very rare*, and in all other classifications, I must be understood as speaking of full autograph letters or documents, or, at least, of a good letter merely signed. The designation would not be correct as applied, for example, to the Colonial paper money signed by Charles Humphreys in Pennsylvania and by Henry Middleton in South Carolina.

The *rare* names—such as would be in the R⁴ or R⁵ classification—may well include Samuel Rhoads [Pa.]; John Cooper [N. J.]; John Evans and John Patten [Del.]; Thomas Adams, Richard Bland, and Merewether Smith [Va.]; Thomas Person [N. C.]; and Thomas Lynch and John Parker [S. C.].

A small number of the remaining names may properly be called scarce; but it is scarcely necessary to particularize them.

Mr. Young. May I ask you to go further, and give me the same kind of information about names that occur in the Albany Convention and the Stamp Act Congress Series, as well as in the series of Members of the Federal Convention and Generals of the Revolutionary War?

Mr. Old. In the Albany Convention Series the *rare* names—for A. L. S.—are Roger Wolcott, Jun.

[Conn.], and Martin Howard, Jun. [R. I.]; and the *extremely rare* name is Abraham Barnes [Md.]. By the way, it must not be forgotten that there was another Abraham Barnes, also a Maryland man, who was contemporary with the member of the Convention; and care must be taken not to accept him in place of the right man.

In the Stamp Act Congress Series there is one *extremely rare* name; that of William Murdock of Maryland. Three names—those of Timothy Ruggles [Mass.], David Rowland [Conn.], and Thomas Lynch [S. C.]—may properly be called *rare*. You must guard against being deceived by a letter of a certain Thomas Lynch, a merchant of the city of New York, who was a contemporary of the right Lynch.

In the series of Signers of the Constitution of the U. S. and Members of the Federal Convention, no names occur that are *extremely rare*. Of names that are *rare* I can specify Robert H. Harrison [Md.], John Blair [Va.], Willie Jones [N. C.], and William Houstoun [Ga.].

In the series of Generals of the Revolutionary War, the *extremely rare* names are Philippe Du Coudray, the Chevalier de Roche Fermoy, and the Chevalier de la Neuville. They are not represented in any of the collections, large or small, that have been sold at

auction during the last fifty years. A letter signed by Baron de Woedtke has appeared once, and once only, in a sale catalogue. An A. L. S. is unknown.

Among the *very rare* names I should class John Stark and Israel Putnam [in the form of A. L. S.], Count Pulaski, Andrew Lewis, Francis Nash, James Hogun, and the Chevalier De Preudhomme De Borre.

The *rare* names would include Richard Montgomery, John Thomas, Thomas Conway, the Baron de Kalb, Seth Pomeroy, James Moore, John Philip De Haas, Ebenezer Learned, and Hugh Mercer.

Names of certain generals that are of common occurrence, but are much sought for—such as Washington, Benedict Arnold, Anthony Wayne, and Nathanael Greene—would be designated as *recherché* by a French dealer.

Having answered all your questions, I want to say that the conclusions I have expressed in regard to rarity are based on an experience covering very many years; during which time I have had in my hands and have carefully examined all the catalogues of public or private sales of autographs that have been issued in the United States. Some collectors will, perhaps, differ with me in regard to certain names, which they may think should have received either a higher or a lower mark of rarity. Some may think

I have named too many—others that I have not named enough. Such differences of opinion are most natural, and are bound to exist.

Let me, however, impress upon you the fact that substantial changes in the degrees of rarity I have noted may easily happen within any decade. Names that have long been sought, either totally or very largely in vain, may emerge from sources hitherto unknown, be placed on the market, and thus lose their rarity. Other names, that are now merely scarce or rare, may become *very rare* by the failure of an adequate supply of them. I can cite instances of such changes in years gone by. Fifty or sixty years ago no collector had ever seen an autograph of William Clingan, a Pennsylvania member of the Continental Congress and a Signer of the Articles of Confederation. Mr. Cist expressed the opinion that if any man of this name had been a member of the Congress, he would have left some written sign of his existence. Dr. Sprague came to the conclusion that the name was a misprint for William Bingham. So it happened that this void in the series remained unfilled until 1876, or perhaps 1880; when, among a large quantity of papers of the Revolutionary period discovered in a long-unused room in the Capitol at Harrisburg, many letters and documents of Clingan were found. Of

course no collection was thereafter without this name.

Simon Boerum is another instance of the same kind. Up to the time when Mr. Danforth unearthed, in a County Surrogate's office, dozens of official autographs—documents—signed of this absolutely obscure man, any paper in his handwriting would have been a rarity of rarities. For years and years the name was totally unprocurable. Then, when Dr. Emmet was so fortunate as to secure a large D. S. at a correspondingly large price, collectors thought he had become the owner of something almost unique. Now, every collector who wanted this autograph has it; and it is a drug on the market, though the dealers still hold it at a pretty stiff price because once upon a time it sold at \$200.

As an instance of great increase in rarity, let me tell you a little story about the letters and manuscripts gathered by Gov. David L. Swain, of North Carolina, with the intention of using them in the preparation of a history of his native State. He succeeded in getting together a very large amount of material of great autographic, as well as historical, interest and value, including many letters of Signers of the Declaration of Independence, Generals of the Revolutionary War, etc. During the latter part of the Civil War, Dr. Charles G. Barney, a Northerner by birth, who

had married a Southern lady and had become a resident of Richmond, Va., heard of these papers. He was a collector in a small way and had some knowledge of the rarity of certain letters. So he paid a visit to Gov. Swain, and requested permission to examine them for historical purposes. It was granted; and he became the possessor of hundreds of letters which had come from the correspondence of William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn, and Samuel Johnston. He had a large number of letters of each of the North Carolina Signers, with fine historical contents, which he brought to the North, immediately after the close of the war, and sold to collectors and dealers at \$20 per letter. There were other gems obtained from the same source, for which he received prices depending upon the number of specimens in his hands. It took him five or six years to dispose of his entire supply. If collectors had considered the fact that, with the exhaustion of this supply, letters of these Signers would again become rare, a better appreciation of their pecuniary value would have been entertained. To-day, all of them are considered rare, and their money value is vastly greater than it was from 1865 to 1880.

Arthur Middleton, one of the South Carolina Signers, may also be mentioned as an instance of an autograph which was once, for a time, quite plentiful,

but afterwards became very rare. In the year 1860 a bundle of drafts signed by Middleton and some of his colleagues in the Continental Congress, dated in 1781 and 1782, and written on one half of a 4to sheet of paper, came to light in Philadelphia. They were offered for sale at \$5 each, and were greedily taken by collectors, nearly all of whom needed this autograph. After the collectors had been fully supplied, the surplus went to dealers. In 1886, at the Cist sale, one of these drafts sold for \$15. Five years later, at the Leffingwell sale, the price advanced to \$140. To-day it would be much more.

Sixth Conversation.

Mr. Young. A friend of mine who is interested, as I am, in collecting letters of American poets, and who has most of the important names, asked me, a few days ago, if I had autographs of Philip Pendleton Cooke, Lucy Hooper, Edward C. Pinkney, and the Davidson sisters. I told him that I hadn't any of them, and I frankly confessed that, with the exception of Cooke, the names were unfamiliar to me. Since then I have looked into Duyckinck's "Cyclopedia of American Literature," where I find quite lengthy

notices of all of them. Can you tell me anything in regard to the rarity of their autographs?

Mr. Old. All the names you mention have honorable places in the annals of American literature. While it is true that they are rarely mentioned nowadays, it is no less true that they were once well known and highly esteemed. A special interest, of a somewhat sad kind, attaches to them from the fact that they died when very young. The Davidson sisters—Lucretia Maria and Margaret Miller—furnish very remarkable instances of youthful precocity. Both of them died of consumption; Lucretia, one month before reaching her seventeenth birthday, and Margaret, at the age of fifteen. The esteem in which Lucretia's poems were held was expressed by the English poet Southey in a laudatory notice in the Quarterly Review, in which he said: "In our own language, except in the cases of Chatterton and Kirke White, we can call to mind no instance of so early, so ardent, and so fatal a pursuit of intellectual advancement." Margaret's poems were introduced to the world by Washington Irving. She began to write when she was only six years old; and, according to her mother's statement, "she seemed to exist only in the regions of poetry."

No letter of either of these sisters has ever appeared in a sale catalogue, nor is any known to exist in

a public collection. Dr. Sprague, who lived in Albany and personally knew the Davidson family, was unable to obtain from Mrs. Davidson any autographic mementos of her gifted daughters other than a small manuscript poem, signed on the back, written by Lucretia, and a short note written and signed by Margaret. You may, therefore, consider their autographs as excessively rare.

Next, in the order of rarity of the names we are considering, I should place Lucy Hooper. She, too, died when she was very young—only twenty-five. That she was regarded as a poet of much merit is evidenced by the fact that, when her “Complete Poetical Works” were published in 1848, they contained laudatory verses by Whittier and Tuckerman. Her autograph was wanting in every collection that has yet been exposed to public sale, and may be classed as extremely rare. The same remark is true in regard to Edward C. Pinkney and Philip Pendleton Cooke; both of whom hold high rank among the minor poets. Pinkney, who died in his twenty-sixth year, was noted for the exquisite taste of his lyrics; and Cooke, who was only thirty-three at the time of his death, had established his reputation by his beautiful poems, of which “Florence Vane” is the best known.

Mr. Young. Is it not true that, as a general rule,

letters of our best known poets, though bringing high prices, are not rare?

Mr. Old. You state what I believe to be a fact. I do not, at this moment, recall more than one name—that of Joseph Rodman Drake—that is an exception to the rule. His letters are excessively rare; not more than two or three of them being known to exist in public or private collections. Here you have another instance of rarity due to early death; for you know that Drake did not survive his twenty-fifth year.

Mr. Young. You told me, while speaking of the Davidson sisters, that Southey ranked them as the equals of Chatterton and Kirke White in poetical precocity. Are they, too, very rare names?

Mr. Old. Thomas Chatterton's letters very seldom occur; and when one is offered for sale, the price asked for it is high, say from seventy-five to one hundred pounds. Remember that, unable to stand the conflict with the extreme poverty to which he was reduced, he poisoned himself with arsenic when he was only eighteen years of age. Hence the rarity of his letters is readily accounted for. Henry Kirke White's letters fall much below Chatterton's in point of rarity and value. Still, as he died when in his twenty-first year, his letters must be rare. The last one that I

remember to have seen in a sale catalogue was priced at fifteen pounds.

Mr. Young. Changing the subject of conversation, may I ask you if it is not an odd circumstance that certain literary names should be sought with such persistence, while others, of very positive merit, suffer comparative neglect? For instance, there seems to be a rage for letters of Eugene Field, Bret Harte, Lowell, James Whitcomb Riley, Bayard Taylor, Thoreau, and Walt Whitman. Why should they be more desirable than Longfellow, Bryant, Halleck, Holmes, T. Buchanan Read, Whittier, and others of nearly equal rank?

Mr. Old. There is no way of accounting for the taste of collectors or for their preference for certain names. Something occurs to set the pace in a certain direction, and it keeps up while the vogue lasts. The same thing happens in England. Dickens, Thackeray, Stevenson, Meredith, and a few others, are special favorites at high prices; while little attention is paid to such excellent novelists as Anthony Trollope, Charles Reade, Charles Kingsley, Bulwer Lytton, Wilkie Collins, Dinah M. Craik, Stanley Weyman, and many others. It is easy to understand why Dickens should be such a prime favorite, and why his almost countless letters should have advanced so enor-

mously in value within the last twenty or twenty-five years; but it would not be easy to give a reason—even a purely literary reason—for the autographic esteem accorded to some writers and denied to others of high rank.

Seventh Conversation.

Mr. Young. I am somewhat at a loss to determine the best way to arrange and preserve the letters I have collected. My inquiries show me that collectors differ very much in their views on this question. A few of them mount their autographs in books; some have their letters inlaid, on Whatman paper, to a uniform folio size; while others place them loose in wrappers. Does your experience enable you to say which one of these modes is the best?

Mr. Old. Individual tastes differ so widely that one must be careful in making an *ex cathedra* statement on the question you ask. As a general rule, however, I should say that autographs should never be *mounted*; that is, *pasted down* in books. When so placed, they are difficult to remove, in case you want to make a change; and, if you are not particular in regard to the kind of paste used, the letter may be injured. This

is particularly true where gum arabic is used. It nearly always produces a serious discoloration.

In recent times a few collectors have had their letters inlaid on large sheets, of uniform size, of Whatman paper. I consider this a *most objectionable* mode to follow. When so inlaid, the letter is pasted down, by the edges, on all sides; and then, in order to get rid of the extra thickness on the parts where the letter and the Whatman paper unite, the edges of the letter are pared down. Its margins are thus weakened; and small portions of words on the right hand side, the top, and the bottom of the letter, are not unfrequently scraped away. The pecuniary value of a letter which has been so treated is much lessened thereby. I have no hesitation in expressing my unqualified disapproval of such inlaying. It is justifiable only where the letters are to be bound together in a volume; and even then a much better plan is to attach the letters to the sheets on which they are laid by means of a few small strips placed on their left sides, which serve as hinges.

What, then, is the best mode to adopt? Nearly all of the leading American collectors have followed the custom, pursued by the principal European collectors, of placing their autographs loose in boxes, arranged in series. Some have used wrappers; others have not done so. The most noted French and Ger-

man collectors have had handsome wrappers, of special design, containing their coats of arms, in which their letters were placed, accompanied by a portrait of the person whose autograph is enclosed. The addition of a portrait gives enhanced interest to the letter. The two together bring you in much closer contact with the writer than either one would separately. The splendid collection of Alfred Bovet was thus arranged, and several fine portraits frequently accompanied a letter or document. All things considered, I regard this mode of keeping autographs as by far the best.

Mr. Young. I have been reading, with great pleasure, Mr. Joline's delightful "Meditations of an Autograph Collector." The concluding words of the book impressed me very much. He says, as you probably remember: "No one will ever be as fond of my pets as I have been, and at no distant day they will be scattered among the bidders at the inevitable auction-sale which awaits all collections save only those consigned to perpetual burial in some library. My own association with them will be lost and forgotten. I look upon them almost as one might upon the children whom he must leave behind him. They, however, may remember, while our cherished autographs and books, in serene unconsciousness, will be forever

unmindful of the fondness which has been lavished upon them. A rare book will now and then retain the record of a tender and devoted ownership, but an autograph seldom recalls the memory of a chance possessor. None the less dear to me are these relics of the leaders of life and of literature. Some one will preserve them, and perhaps may fondle them as I have done. I trust that they may come under the protecting care of a true collector, a real antiquary—no mere bargain-hunter, no ‘snapper up of unconsidered trifles,’ but one endowed with the capacity to appreciate whatever things are worthy of the affection of the lover of letters and of history.” There is such a decided tone of sadness in these words; such an expression of regret that his autographic treasures must eventually pass into other hands; that I fail to see why, if he wanted to prevent such a fate from overtaking them, he did not prefer to keep them together and give them what he calls “perpetual burial in some library.” There, at least, they would bear his name, preserve his memory, and give pleasure and instruction to the select few who, in future years, would ask to see and examine them. I can understand, of course, why the needs of a man’s family might make it imperative that his collection should be sold; but, in the case of Mr. Joline, I am told that no such needs existed.



A. H. JOLINE

Mr. Old. There is enough pathos in Mr. Joline's lament to stir the heart of any collector who, like him, has a positive affection for his manuscript possessions. The true collector is generally a man of education and refinement, who, until the close of his days, follows his hobby with a real love for it. There is pleasureable occupation for a long life in gathering a truly representative collection of letters of the great men and women of past and present times. From day to day, month to month, year to year, these memorials of the dead and the living fall, one by one, into his hands, rewarding his earnest search and patient waiting. He gives them his affectionate care. They become dear to him, as his constant companions. They give him joy in many a weary hour. They almost become part of his existence. How any man whose pecuniary means would enable him to keep these silent and constant friends from being sold and separated can consent to have them scattered to the four winds of heaven, never again to be reunited as members of a family, is something I cannot understand. Mr. Dreer gave his valuable collection, to the formation of which he had given fully sixty years of his life, to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in order that it might be there preserved for all time, bearing his name. He told me that he could not endure the

thought of its dispersal. Dr. Fogg left his manuscript possessions to the Maine Historical Society. Lyman C. Draper gave the great mass of papers, which he spent years in collecting, to the Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dr. Sprague was anxious that his immense collection should not be scattered after his death; and his family saw that this wish was met when they determined to sell the collection as a whole to some one who would keep it together.

No one will doubt the truth of Mr. Joline's thought that his "cherished autographs, in serene unconsciousness, will be forever unmindful of the fondness which has been lavished upon them"—for they are inanimate. But I cannot agree with him that "an autograph seldom recalls the memory of a chance possessor." The statement is probably true in the case of common letters and such as are without historical or personal interest or have not had a place in a collection of note; but letters that are rare or that have important contents, often carry with them the story of the different hands through which they have passed. Alfred Bovet loved the pieces that came from celebrated collections; and the beautiful and remarkable catalogue prepared by Étienne Charavay indicates the sources from which many of his autographs came. The names of Baron de Trémont, Lucas de Montigny,

Chambry, Benjamin Fillon, Alfred Sensier, Dubrunfaut, and others, frequently occur as former owners of pieces named in the catalogue.

The collection of the Prince de Ligne contained a drawing, sketched in pen and ink, by Raphael Sanzio, the superb painter, of two heads of horses, with the arms of men, and five lines in his handwriting, dated 1510. At his sale, this drawing passed into the hands of Comte de Fries; thence to the collection of Prof. Bohm, of Vienna; thence to Mr. Donnadieu, who had bought it, for 1000 francs, from a Mons. Hertz; and thence to Baron de Trémont. You see, from this illustration, that an autograph may, and often does, recall the memory of a former possessor.

There is one other statement of Mr. Joline's to which I cannot accede. He speaks of "the inevitable auction-sale which awaits all collections save only those consigned to perpetual burial in some library." Mr. Joline's experience in regard to collections given to Historical Societies and libraries must have been an unfortunate one; otherwise he would not have spoken of them in words which imply that they are forever hidden from sight. The truth is that they are always open for the inspection of those who want to see them as mere curiosities, and for the use of those

who wish, for historical or literary purposes, to examine their contents.

So, while I am in full accord with Mr. Joline in his expressions of affection for the "pets" of a lifetime, I must disagree with him in his view of what is their natural and inevitable fate.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF BOOKS CONTAINING FACSIMILES OF AUTOGRAPH LETTERS OR OF MERE SIGNATURES.

British Autography, a Collection of Fac-Similes of the Handwriting of Royal and Illustrious Personages, with their Authentic Portraits. By John Thane. Small 4to, 3 volumes.

Autographs of Royal, Noble, Learned and Remarkable Personages Conspicuous in English History from the reign of Richard the Second to that of Charles the Second; with some Illustrious Foreigners; containing many passages from important letters. Engraved under the direction of Charles John Smith. Accompanied by concise biographical memoirs and interesting extracts from the original documents, by John Gough Nichols. Folio. London, 1829. [A very valuable work.]

Autographs of the Kings and Queens, and Eminent Men, of Great Britain, from the 14th century to the present period. Being Fac-Similes taken from original documents by J. Netherclift. Oblong folio. London, 1835.

Autograph Letters, Characteristic Extracts and Signatures, from the Correspondence of Illustrious and Distinguished Women of Great Britain, from the XIVth to the XIXth Century. Collected and copied in Fac-Simile from Original Documents by J. Netherclift. Folio. London, 1838.

Isographie des Hommes Celebres, ou Collection de Fac-Simile de Lettres Autographes et de Signatures. 4 volumes, 4to. Paris, 1843. [An invaluable work to a collector.]

Collection of One Hundred Characteristic and Interesting Autograph Letters, written by Royal and Distinguished Persons of Great Britain, from the XV. to the XVIII. centuries. By J. Netherclift and Son, 1849. [An instructive work.]

The Autograph Miscellany: A Collection of Autograph Letters, Interesting Documents, etc. By F. Netherclift, 1855.

Sale Catalogue of the manuscript library of the late Dawson Turner, Esq. Puttick and Simpson, 1859. [Contains many important facsimiles.]

American Historical and Literary Curiosities: Consisting of Fac-Similes of some plates, &c., relating to Columbus, and Original Documents of the Revolution, &c., &c., with a variety of Reliques, Antiquities and Autographs. Edited and arranged, with the assistance of several autograph collectors, by John Jay Smith. Second Series. Folio. New York: Charles B. Richardson, 1860.

The Book of the Signers: Containing Fac-Simile Letters of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence. Edited by William Brotherhead. 4to. Philadelphia, 1861.

The Autograph Souvenir: A Collection of Autograph Letters, etc., selected from the British Museum and other Sources by F. G. Netherclift. With notes by R. Sims, of the British Museum.

American Historical and Literary Curiosities: Consisting of Fac-Similes of Original Documents relating to the events of the Revolution, &c., &c. Collected

and edited by John Jay Smith and John F. Watson. Folio. Sixth edition; with improvements and additions. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1861.

The Autograph Mirror: Autographic Letters and Sketches of Illustrious and Distinguished Men of past and present times: Sovereigns, Statesmen, Warriors, Divines; Historians, Lawyers; Literary, Scientific, Artistic and Theatrical Celebrities. 4to. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, and Galpin.

Album de Fac-Simile des Régents, Capitaines, et Hommes D'État depuis L'An 1500 Jusqu' en 1576. Dessinés sur les Originaux et Expliqués par Charles Oberleitner. 4to. Vienne, 1862.

The Hand-Book of Autographs: Being a Ready Guide to the Handwriting of Distinguished Men and Women of every Nation. Designed for the use of literary men, autograph collectors, and others. By Frederick G. Netherclift. With a Biographical Index, etc., by Richard Sims, of the British Museum. London, John Russell Smith, 1862.

The Autographic Mirror: L'Autographe Cosmopolite. Inedited autographs of illustrious and distinguished men of past and present times. Sovereigns,

Statesmen, Warriors, Divines, Historians, Lawyers, Literary, Scientific, Artistic and Theatrical Celebrities. Lithographed by Vincent Brooks, Chandos St., Charing Cross, London. Large folio. Vol. 1. Published Feb. 20, 1864.

The same. Volume 2.

The Autographic Album: A collection of four hundred and seventy fac-similes of Holograph writings of Royal, Noble, and Distinguished Men and Women of various Nations. With biographical notices, and occasional translations. By Lawrence B. Phillips, F. R. A. S. Lithographed by F. G. Netherclift. Small 4to. London, 1866.

The Centennial Book of the Signers: Being Fac-Simile Letters of each Signer of the Declaration of Independence. By W. Brotherhead, Librarian. Folio, 295 pages. Philadelphia: J. M. Stoddart & Co., 1875.

Inventaire des Autographes et Documents Historiques Réunis par M. Benjamin Fillon. Décrits par Étienne Charavay. 3 volumes, 4to. Paris, 1878. [Filled with fac-similes of letters and signatures.]

Lettres Autographes composant la Collection de M. Alfred Bovet, Décrites par Étienne Charavay.

A Paris. Librairie Charavay Frères. 1887. 4to, 880 pages. [Very valuable for its numerous fac-similes of letters and documents.]

Catalogue of the Collection of Alfred Morrison. Six sumptuous volumes, large 4to, filled with full page fac-similes. Printed for private distribution.

Fac-Similes of Royal, Historical, Literary, and other Autographs in the Department of Mss., British Museum. Edited by George F. Warner. Series I-V, with 150 plates. Folio. 1899.

English Court Hand: A. D. 1066 to 1500. Illustrated chiefly from the Public Records. By Charles Johnson and Hilary Jenkinson. Text 1 vol. 8vo, and a royal folio volume containing 44 reproductions. Oxford, 1915.

Catalogue of the Autograph Letters collected by Henry Huth, and sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, on June 12 and 13, 1911. [Contains many full-page fac-similes.]

APPENDIX B.

CONVENTION OF COMMISSIONERS TO CONFER WITH
THE SIX NATIONS AND OTHER FRIENDLY INDIANS
ON OFFENSIVE AND DEFENSIVE MEASURES AGAINST
THE FRENCH AND THE INDIANS ACTING WITH
THEM. HELD AT ALBANY, OCTOBER 5, 1745.

Commissioners from New York.

Governor George Clinton.	}	Members of the Execu- tive Council of New York.
Philip Livingston.		
Daniel Horsmanden.		
Joseph Murray.		
John Rutherford.		

Commissioners from Massachusetts.

Col. John Stoddard.
Jacob Wendell.
Thomas Berry.
John Choate.
Thomas Hutchinson.

Commissioners from Connecticut.

Roger Wolcott.

Col. Nathaniel Stanley.

Commissioners from Pennsylvania.

Thomas Lawrence.

John Kinsey.

Isaac Norris.

APPENDIX C.

DELEGATES TO THE CONVENTION HELD AT ALBANY, IN 1754.

<i>New York.</i>	James Delancey.
	Joseph Murray.
	Sir William Johnson.
	John Chambers.
	William Smith, Sen.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Samuel Welles.
	John Chandler.
	Thomas Hutchinson.
	Oliver Partridge.
<i>New Hampshire.</i>	John Worthington.
	Theodore Atkinson.
	Richard Wibird.
	Mesech Weare.
	Henry Sherburne, Jun.

<i>Connecticut.</i>	William Pitkin.
	Roger Wolcott, Jun.
	Elisha Williams.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Stephen Hopkins.
	Martin Howard, Jun.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	John Penn.
	Benjamin Franklin.
	Richard Peters.
	Isaac Norris.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Benjamin Tasker.
	Abraham Barnes.

APPENDIX D.

DELEGATES TO THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS, HELD IN 1765.

<i>Massachusetts.</i>	James Otis, Jun. Oliver Partridge. Timothy Ruggles.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Metcalf Bowler. Henry Ward.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Eliphalet Dyer. David Rowland. William Samuel Johnson.
<i>New York.</i>	Robert R. Livingston, Sen. John Cruger. Philip Livingston. William Bayard. Leonard Lispenard.
<i>New Jersey.</i>	Robert Ogden. Hendrick Fisher. Joseph Borden.

<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	John Dickinson.
	John Morton.
	George Bryan.
<i>Delaware.</i>	Thomas McKean.
	Cæsar Rodney.
<i>Maryland.</i>	William Murdock.
	Edward Tilghman.
	Thomas Ringgold.
<i>South Carolina.</i>	Thomas Lynch.
	Christopher Gadsden.
	John Rutledge.

APPENDIX E.

DELEGATES TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS OF 1774.

Peyton Randolph, President.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	John Sullivan. Nathaniel Folsom.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Thomas Cushing. Samuel Adams. James Bowdoin. (Did not attend.) John Adams. Robert Treat Paine.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Stephen Hopkins. Samuel Ward.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Eliphalet Dyer. William Samuel Johnson. (Did not attend.) Erastus Wolcott. (Did not attend.) Roger Sherman.

- Richard Law. (Did not attend)
Silas Deane.
Joseph Trumbull. (Did not attend.)
- New York.* Isaac Low.
John Haring. (Did not attend.)
John Alsop.
John Jay.
James Duane.
Philip Livingston.
William Floyd.
Henry Wisner.
Simon Boerum.
- New Jersey.* James Kinsey.
William Livingston.
Stephen Crane.
Richard Smith.
John DeHart.
- Pennsylvania.* Joseph Galloway.
John Dickinson.
Charles Humphreys.
Thomas Mifflin.
Edward Biddle.
John Morton.
George Ross.
Samuel Rhoads. (Did not attend.)

<i>Delaware.</i>	Cæsar Rodney. Thomas McKean. George Read.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Robert Goldsborough. (Did not attend.) Matthew Tilghman. John Rogers. Thomas Johnson, Jr. William Paca. Samuel Chase.
<i>Virginia.</i>	Richard Henry Lee. Peyton Randolph. George Washington. Patrick Henry, Jr. Richard Bland. Benjamin Harrison. Edmund Pendleton.
<i>North Carolina.</i>	William Hooper. Joseph Hewes. Richard Caswell.
<i>South Carolina.</i>	Henry Middleton. Thomas Lynch. Christopher Gadsden. John Rutledge. Edward Rutledge.

APPENDIX F.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

	Elected
Peyton Randolph.	Sept. 5, 1774.
Henry Middleton.	Oct. 22, 1774.
Peyton Randolph.	May 10, 1775.
John Hancock.	May 24, 1775.
Henry Laurens.	Nov. 1, 1777.
John Jay.	Dec. 10, 1778.
Samuel Huntington.	Sept. 28, 1779.
Samuel Johnston.	July 9, 1781.

[Note. On July 10 he declined to accept the election, for reasons that were satisfactory to the Congress.]

Thomas McKean.	July 10, 1781.
John Hanson.	Nov. 5, 1781.
Elias Boudinot.	Nov. 4, 1782.
Thomas Mifflin.	Nov. 3, 1783.

Richard Henry Lee. Nov. 30, 1784.

John Hancock. Nov. 23, 1785.

[Note. Illness prevented him from serving, and he resigned on June 5, 1786.]

Nathaniel Gorham. June 6, 1786.

Arthur St. Clair. Feb. 2, 1787.

Cyrus Griffin. Jan. 22, 1788.

Note. The following named members of the Continental Congress were elected **CHAIRMEN** [**PRESIDENTS PRO TEM.**] of Congress, to preside during the absence of the President.

John Rutledge. Sept. 8, 1783.

Daniel Carroll. April 15, 1782. Sept. 9,
1783. Nov. 3, 1783.

Thomas Jefferson. March 12, 1784.

Thomas Stone. June 1, 1784.

Samuel Holten. Aug. 17, 1785.

David Ramsay. Nov. 23, 1785.

[He served until May 15, 1786, during the long absence of John Hancock, caused by his illness.]

Nathaniel Gorham. May 15, 1786.

[He served until the first Monday of June, 1786.]

Lambert Cadwalader. Feb. 19, 1787.

William Grayson. July 4, 1787.

APPENDIX G.

REVOLUTIONARY CABINETS.

Comprising the names of the persons who were elected or appointed by the Continental Congress to administer the affairs of the departments of State, Finance, War, Navy, and the Post Office during the Revolutionary War and up to the time when the Constitution of the United States became operative.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

Secretary for foreign affairs.

Aug. 10, 1781.	Robert R. Livingston.
May 7, 1784.	John Jay.

BOARD OF TREASURY. COMMISSIONERS OF THE BOARD
OF TREASURY.

Feb. 24, 1779. Frederick Frelinghuysen.

- Nov. 9, 1779. Ezekiel Forman. Resigned July 24, 1781.
Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.
William Churchill Houston.
William Sharpe.
- Nov. 25, 1779. John Gibson.
- Dec. 13, 1779. William Floyd, *vice* William Sharpe.
- April 28, 1780. William Denning.
- May 9, 1780. James Duane, *vice* William Churchill Houston. Declined the election.
- May 10, 1780. James Henry.
- June 23, 1780. Roger Sherman.
- July 7, 1780. Edward Telfair, *vice* James Henry.
- Dec. 4, 1780. Oliver Wolcott. Excused from serving.
- June 3, 1784. Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer.
Oliver Ellsworth.
William Denning. Declined the appointment.
- Jan. 25, 1785. John Lewis Gervais. Declined the election.
Samuel Osgood.
Walter Livingston.
- July 27, 1785. Arthur Lee.
- Feb. 20, 1781. Robert Morris was elected Superintendent of Finance.

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.

Board of War and Ordinance. Board of War.
Commissioners for the Board of War. Secretaries at
War.

BOARD OF WAR AND ORDINANCE.

June 13, 1776.	John Adams. Roger Sherman. Benjamin Harrison. James Wilson. Edward Rutledge.
Sept. 11, 1776.	Francis Lightfoot Lee.
March 26, 1777.	George Clymer.
May 8, 1777.	Charles Carroll of Carrollton.
July 2, 1777.	William Duer.

BOARD OF WAR.

Nov. 7, 1777.	Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin. Col. Timothy Pickering. Col. Robert H. Harrison.
Nov. 17, 1777.	Francis Dana. Jonathan Bayard Smith.
Jan. 14, 1778.	Edward Langworthy.
Dec. 22, 1778.	Jesse Root, <i>vice</i> Roger Sherman.

- April 8, 1779. Joseph Spencer, *vice* Francis Lightfoot Lee.
Samuel J. Atlee, *vice* Jesse Root.
Sept. 27, 1779. Jesse Root, *vice* Joseph Spencer.
Nov. 23, 1779. Robert R. Livingston, *vice* Sam. J. Atlee.
April 6, 1780. John Morin Scott.
John Matthews.
June 23, 1780. Gen. Artemas Ward, *vice* John Matthews.
Dec. 29, 1780. John Matthews.

COMMISSIONERS FOR THE BOARD OF WAR.

- Nov. 27, 1777. Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, President.
Joseph Trumbull.
Richard Peters.
Jan. 12, 1778. Maj. Gen. Thomas Mifflin.
June 22, 1779. Maj. Gen. William Heath.
[On July 27, 1779, he asked to be excused.]
Dec. 7, 1779. Col. William Grayson.
Dec. 29, 1780. Ezekiel Cornell.

SECRETARIES AT WAR.

- Oct. 30, 1781. Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.

Nov. 19, 1781. Richard Peters was authorized to continue to exercise the duties of the War Department until the Secretary at War shall enter upon the execution of his office.

March 8, 1785. Henry Knox.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Continental Navy Board. Commissioners of the Board of Admiralty. Secretary of Marine. Agent of Marine.

CONTINENTAL NAVY BOARD.

Nov. 6, 1776. John Nixon.
John Wharton. Resigned Jan. 11, 1781.
Francis Hopkinson.

Board of Assistants to the Marine Committee for the Eastern Department.

May 6, 1777. William Vernon.
James Warren.
John Deshon. Resigned May 7, 1781.

For the Middle Department.

- May 9, 1778. William Smith. Resigned July 22, 1778.
- Aug. 19, 1778. Capt. Nathaniel Falconer. Declined.
James Searle. Resigned Sept. 28, 1778.
- Nov. 4, 1778. James Read.
John Wharton.
William Winder.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE BOARD OF ADMIRALTY.

- Nov. 26, 1779. Thomas Waring. Declined the election.
William Whipple. Resigned March 7, 1780.
- Dec. 3, 1779. George Bryan. Declined the election.
William Floyd. Resigned.
James Forbes.
- Dec. 7, 1779. Francis Lewis. Resigned July 17, 1781.
- Dec. 8, 1779. William Ellery.
- March 22, 1780. James Madison. On account of the illness of James Forbes.

June 6, 1780.	Whitmill Hill. Benjamin Huntington.
June 23, 1780.	Thomas Woodford.
Nov. 7, 1780.	John Hanson. William Sharpe.

[On Dec. 3, 1779, John Brown was elected Secretary of the Board of Admiralty, and he was the actual head of the Continental Navy during the remainder of the war.]

SECRETARY OF MARINE.

Feb. 27, 1781.	Maj. Gen. Alexander McDougall.
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AGENT OF MARINE.

Sept. 7, 1781.	Robert Morris [as Superintendent of Finance], until the close of the war.
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POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Postmasters-general.

July 26, 1775.	Benjamin Franklin.
Nov. 7, 1776.	Richard Bache.
Jan. 28, 1782.	Ebenezer Hazard.

APPENDIX H.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Josiah Bartlett. William Whipple. Matthew Thornton.
<i>Massachusetts Bay.</i>	Samuel Adams. John Adams. Robert Treat Paine. Elbridge Gerry.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Stephen Hopkins. William Ellery.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Roger Sherman. Samuel Huntington. William Williams. Oliver Wolcott.
<i>New York.</i>	William Floyd. Philip Livingston. Francis Lewis. Lewis Morris.

<i>New Jersey.</i>	Richard Stockton. John Witherspoon. Francis Hopkinson. John Hart. Abraham Clark.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Robert Morris. Benjamin Rush. Benjamin Franklin. John Morton. George Clymer. James Smith. George Taylor. James Wilson. George Ross.
<i>Delaware.</i>	Cæsar Rodney. George Read. Thomas McKean.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Samuel Chase. Charles Carroll of Carrollton. William Paca. Thomas Stone.
<i>Virginia.</i>	George Wythe. Richard Henry Lee. Thomas Jefferson. Benjamin Harrison. Thomas Nelson, Jr.

	Francis Lightfoot Lee.
	Carter Braxton.
<i>North Carolina.</i>	William Hooper.
	Joseph Hewes.
	John Penn.
<i>South Carolina.</i>	Edward Rutledge.
	Thomas Heyward, Jr.
	Thomas Lynch, Jr.
	Arthur Middleton.
<i>Georgia.</i>	Button Gwinnett.
	Lyman Hall.
	George Walton.

APPENDIX I.

DELEGATES TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

[Note. The names printed in *italics* are those of delegates who either did not accept the appointment or did not attend any session of Congress.]

Adams, Andrew, Conn.

do John, Mass.

do Samuel, Mass.

do Thomas, Va.

Alexander, Robert, Md.

Allen, Andrew, Pa.

Alsop, John, N. Y.

Andrew, Benjamin, Ga.

Armstrong, John, Sen., Pa.

Armstrong, John, Jr., Pa.

Arnold, Jonathan, R. I.

Arnold, Peleg, R. I.

Ashe, John B., N. C.

Atlee, Samuel J., Pa.

Atkinson, George, N. H.

- Baldwin, Abraham, Ga.
Banister, John, Va.
Barnwell, Robert, S. C. Attended Jan. 1, 1789.
Bartlett, Josiah, N. H.
Bassett, Richard, Del.
Bayard, John, Pa.
Beatty, John, N. J.
Bedford, Gunning, Sen., Del.
Bedford, Gunning, Jr., Del.
Bee, Thomas, S. C.
Bellows, Benjamin, N. H., 1781.
Benson, Egbert, N. Y.
Beresford, Richard, S. C.
Biddle, Edward, Pa.
Bingham, William, Pa.
Blair, John, Va., 1781.
Blanchard, Jonathan, N. H.
Bland, Richard, Va.
 do Theodoric, Va.
Bloodworth, Timothy, N. C.
Blount, William, N. C.
Boerum, Simon, N. Y.
Boudinot, Elias, N. J.
Bowdoin, James, Mass.
Bradford, William, R. I., 1776.
Braxton, Carter, Va.

- Brevard, Ephraim*, N. C., 1781.
Brown, John, R. I., 1784-5.
do *John*, Mass.
Brown, John, Va.
Brownson, Nathan, Ga.
Bull, John, S. C.
Bulloch, Archibald, Ga.
Burke, Thomas, N. C.
Burnet, William, N. J.
Burton, Robert, N. C.
Butler, Pierce, S. C.
Cadwalader, Lambert, N. J.
Canfield, John, Conn, 1786-7.
Carmichael, William, Md.
Carrington, Edward, Va.
Carroll, Charles, Barrister, Md., 1775.
do Charles, of Carrollton, Md.
do Daniel, Md.
Caswell, Richard, N. C.
Champlin, George, R. I., 1785-6.
Chandler, Charles Church, Conn., 1784-5.
Chase, Jeremiah T., Md.
do Samuel, Md.
Chester, John, Conn., 1787-9.
Clark, Abraham, N. J.
Clarkson, Matthew, Pa.

- Clay, Joseph, Ga.
Clingan, William, Pa.
Clinton, George, N. Y.
Clymer, George, Pa.
Cocke, William, State of Franklin.
Collins, John, R. I.
Condict, Silas, N. J.
Contee, Benjamin, Md.
Cooke, Joseph P., Conn.
Cooper, John, N. J.
Cornell, Ezekiel, R. I.
Coxe, Tench, Pa.
Crane, Stephen, N. J.
Cumming, William, N. C.
Cushing, Nathan, Mass., 1784.
Cushing, Thomas, Mass.
Dalton, Tristram, Mass., 1783. Resigned 1784.
Dana, Francis, Mass.
Dane, Nathan, Mass.
Danielson, Timothy, Mass., 1781-2. Resigned 1783.
Dawson, John, Va. Attended Dec. 3, 1788.
Dayton, Elias, N. J.
do Jonathan, N. J.
Deane, Silas, Conn.
De Hart, John, N. J.
De Witt, Charles, N. Y.

Dick, Samuel, N. J.
Dickinson, John, Pa.
do Philemon, Del.
Dow, Moses, N. H., 1784.
Drayton, William Henry, S. C.
Duane, James, N. Y.
Duer, William, N. Y.
Duffield, Samuel, Pa.
Dyer, Eliphalet, Conn.
Edwards, Pierpont, Conn.
Edwards, Timothy, Mass., 1778. Resigned 1779.
Elbert, Gen. Samuel, Ga.
Ellery, William, R. I.
Ellsworth, Oliver, Conn.
Elmer, Jonathan, N. J.
Evans, John, Del.
Eveleigh, Nicholas, S. C.
Fell, John, N. J.
Few, William, Ga.
Fitzhugh, William, Va.
Fitzsimons, Thomas, Pa.
Fleming, William, Va.
Floyd, William, N. Y.
Folsom, Nathaniel, N. H.
Forbes, James, Md.
Forrest, Uriah, Md.

Foster, Abiel, N. H.
Franklin, Benjamin, Pa.
Frelinghuysen, Frederick, N. J.
Frost, George, N. H.
Gadsden, Christopher, S. C.
Galloway, Joseph, Pa.
Gansevoort, Leonard, N. Y.
Gardner, John, R. I. Attended Feb. 12, 1789.
Gardner, Joseph, Pa.
Gardner, Sylvester, R. I., 1787.
Gelston, David, N. Y. Attended Feb. 18, 1789.
Gerry, Elbridge, Mass.
Gervais, John Louis, S. C.
Gibbons, William, Ga.
Giles, Edward, Md.
Gillon, Alexander, S. C., 1784.
Gilman, John Taylor, N. H.
Gilman, Nicholas, N. H.
Goldsborough, Robert, Md.
Gorham, Nathaniel, Mass.
Grantham, Isaac, Del., 1787.
Grayson, William, Va.
Griffin, Cyrus, Va.
Gunn, James, Ga., Feb. 10, 1787.
Gwinnett, Button, Ga.
Habersham, John, Ga.

Habersham, Joseph, Ga.
Hall, John, Md.
Hall, Lyman, Ga.
Hamilton, Alexander, N. Y.
Hancock, John, Mass.
Hand, Edward, Pa.
Hanson, John, Md.
Hardy, Samuel, Va.
Haring, John, N. Y.
Harnett, Cornelius, N. C.
Harrison, Benjamin, Va.
do William, Md.
Hart, John, N. J.
Hartley, Thomas, Pa.
Harvie, John, Va.
Hathorn, John, N. Y.
Hawkins, Benjamin, N. C.
Hazard, Jonathan J., R. I.
Hemsley, William, Md.
Henderson, Thomas, N. J.
Henry, James, Va.
do John, Md.
do Patrick, Va.
do William, Pa.
Hewes, Joseph, N. C.
Heyward, Thomas, Jr., S. C.

- Higginson, Stephen, Mass.
Hill, Whitmill, N. C.
Hillhouse, James, Conn., 1786-9.
do William, Conn.
Hindman, William, Md.
Holden, Thomas, R. I., 1788-9.
Holten, Samuel, Mass.
Hooper, William, N. C.
Hopkins, Stephen, R. I.
Hopkinson, Francis, Pa.
Hornblower, Josiah, N. J.
Hosmer, Titus, Conn.
Houston, William Churchill, ¹/₂N. J.
Houstoun, John, Ga.
do William, Ga.
Howard, John E., Md.
Howell, David, R. I.
Howley, Richard, Ga.
Huger, Daniel, S. C.
Humphreys, Charles, Pa.
Huntington, Benjamin, Conn.
do Samuel, Conn.
Hutson, Richard, S. C.
Ingersoll, Jared, Pa.
Irvine, William, Pa.
Izard, Ralph, S. C.

Jackson, David, Pa.
do Jonathan, Mass.
Jay, John, N. Y.
Jefferson, Thomas, Va.
Jenifer, Daniel of St. Thomas, Md.
Johnson, Charles, N. C., 1786.
Johnson, Thomas, Md.
do William Samuel, Conn.
Johnston, Samuel, N. C.
Jones, Allen, N. C.
Jones, Gabriel, Va., June 17, 1779.
do Joseph, Va.
do Noble W., Ga.
Jones, Samuel, N. Y.
do Willie, N. C.
Kean, John, S. C.
Kearney, Dyre, Del.
King, Rufus, Mass.
Kinloch, Francis, S. C.
Kinsey, James, N. J.
Langdon, John, N. H.
do Woodbury, N. H.
Langworthy, Edward, Ga.
Lansing, John, N. Y.
Latimer, Henry, Del., April, 1784.
Laurance, John, N. Y.

Laurens, Henry, S. C.

Law, Richard, Conn.

Lee, Arthur, Va.

do Francis Lightfoot, Va.

do Henry, Va.

do Richard Bland, Va., 1780.

do Richard Henry, Va.

do Thomas Sim, Md.

Lewis, Francis, N. Y.

L'Hommedieu, Ezra, N. Y.

Lincoln, Levi, Mass.

Livermore, Samuel, N. H.

Livingston, Philip, N. Y.

do Robert R., N. Y.

do Walter, N. Y.

do William, N. J.

Lloyd, Edward, Md.

do James, Md.

Long, Pierse, N. H.

Lovell, James, Mass.

Low, Isaac, N. Y.

Lowell, John, Mass.

Lowndes, Rawlins, S. C., 1779.

Lynch, Thomas, Sen., S. C.

do Thomas, Jr., S. C.

McComb, Eleazer, Del.

- McDougall, Alexander, N. Y.
McDowell, Joseph, N. C., 1788.
McHenry, James, Md.
McIntosh, Lachlan, Ga.
McKean, Thomas, Pa.
McKinly, John, Del., April, 1784.
McLene, James, Pa.
Macon, Nathaniel, N. C., 1787.
Madison, James, Jr., Va.
Manning, James, R. I.
Manton, Daniel, R. I.
Marchant, Henry, R. I.
Martin, Alexander, N. C., 1787.
Martin, Luther, Md.
Mason, George, Va.
Mathews, John, S. C.
Matlack, Timothy, Pa.
Mercer, James, Va.
do John F., Va.
Meredith, Samuel, Pa.
Middleton, Arthur, S. C.
do Henry, S. C.
Mifflin, Thomas, Pa.
Miller, Nathan, R. I.
Mitchell, Nathaniel, Del.
do Stephen Mix, Conn.

Monroe, James, Va.

Montgomery, John, Pa.

do Joseph, Pa.

do William, Pa.

Moore, William, Pa.

Morris, Cadwalader, Pa.

do Gouverneur, N. Y.

do Lewis, N. Y.

do Robert, Pa.

Morton, John, Pa.

Motte, Isaac, S. C.

Mowry, Daniel, R. I.

Muhlenberg, Frederick Augustus, Pa.

Mumford, Paul, R. I., 1785.

Nash, Abner, N. C.

Neilson, John, N. J.

Nelson, Thomas, Jr., Va.

Osborne, Adlai, N. C., 1785.

Osgood, Samuel, Mass.

Otis, Samuel A., Mass.

Paca, William, Md.

Page, Mann, Jr., Va.

Paine, Elisha, N. H.

do Ephraim, N. Y.

do Robert Treat, Mass.

Parker, John, S. C.

Partridge, George, Mass.
Paterson, William, N. J.
Patten, John, Del.
Patterson, Gen. Samuel, Del., 1784.
Peabody, Nathaniel, N. H.
Peery, William, Del.
Pell, Philip, N. Y. Attended March 2, 1789.
Pendleton, Edmund, Va.
Penn, John, N. C.
Person, Thomas, N. C., 1784.
Peters, Richard, Pa.
Pettit, Charles, Pa.
Phillips, Peter, R. I., 1785.
Pickering, John, N. H., 1788.
Pierce, William, Ga.
Pinckney, Charles, S. C.
Pinckney, Thomas, S. C., 1788.
Pitkin, William, Conn., 1784-5.
Plater, George, Md.
Platt, Zephaniah, N. Y.
Polk, Thomas, N. C., 1788.
Potts, Richard, Md.
Ramsay, David, S. C.
Ramsey, Nathaniel, Md.
Randolph, Edmund, Va.
do Peyton, Va.

- Read, George, Del.
do Jacob, S. C.
Reed, Joseph, Pa.
Reid, James R., Pa.
Rhoads, Samuel, Pa.
Ridgeley, Richard, Md.
Roberdeau, Daniel, Pa.
Rodney, Cæsar, Del.
Rodney, Thomas, Del.
Rogers, John, Md.
Root, Jesse, Conn.
Ross, David, Md.
do George, Pa.
Rumsey, Benjamin, Md.
Rush, Benjamin, Pa.
Rutledge, Edward, S. C.
do John, S. C.
Schureman, James, N. J.
Schuyler, Philip, N. Y.
Scott, Gustavus, Md.
do John Morin, N. Y.
Scudder, Nathaniel, N. J.
Searle, James, Pa.
Sedgwick, Theodore, Mass.
Seney, Joshua, Md.
Sergeant, Jonathan D., N. J.

- Sharpe, William, N. C.
Sherman, Roger, Conn.
Shippen, William, Pa.
Sitgreaves, John, N. C.
Smallwood, Gen. William, Md., 1788.
Smith, Benjamin, N. C., 1786.
Smith, James, Pa.
 do Jonathan Bayard, Pa.
 do Melancton, N. Y.
 do Merewether, Va.
 do Richard, N. J.
 do Thomas, Pa.
 do William, Md.
Spaight, Richard Dobbs, N. C.
Sparhawk, John, N. H.
Spencer, Joseph, Conn.
St. Clair, Arthur, Pa.
Stevens, John, Sen., N. J., 1783-4.
Stewart, Charles, N. J.
Stirk, Samuel, Ga.
Stockton, Richard, N. J.
Stokes, John, N. C., 1788.
Stone, Thomas, Md.
Strong, Caleb, Mass.
 do Jedediah, Conn.
Sturges, Jonathan, Conn.

Sullivan, James, Mass.

do John, N. H.

Sumner, Increase, Mass., June 26, 1781. Resigned
June 28, 1781.

Sumter, Gen. Thomas, S. C., Feb. 1783.

Swann, John, N. C.

Sykes, James, Del.

Symmes, John Cleves, N. J.

Taylor, George, Pa.

Telfair, Edward, Ga.

Thacher, George, Mass.

Thompson, Ebenezer, N. H., 1783.

Thornton, Matthew, N. H.

Tilghman, Matthew, Md.

Tilton, James, Del.

Trapier, Paul, Jr., S. C.

Treadwell, John, Conn.

Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr., Conn.

Trumbull, Joseph, Conn.

Tucker, Thomas Tudor, S. C.

Van Dyke, Nicholas, Del.

Varnum, James M., R. I.

Vining, John, Del.

Wadsworth, James, Conn.

do Jeremiah, Conn.

Wadsworth, Peleg, Mass.

Walker, John, Va.

Walker, Timothy, N. H.

Walton, John, Ga.

do George, Ga.

Ward, Artemas, Mass.

do Samuel, R. I.

Warren, James, Mass., 1782.

Washington, George, Va.

Wentworth, James, Conn.

Wentworth, John, Sen., N. H.

Wentworth, John, Jr., N. H.

Wentworth, Joshua, N. H.

West, Benjamin, N. H.

Wharton, Samuel, Del.

Whipple, William, N. H.

White, Alexander, N. C.

do James, N. C. Attended Feb. 6, 1788.

do Phillips, N. H.

Williams, John, N. C.

do William, Conn.

Williamson, Hugh, N. C.

Willing, Thomas, Pa.

Wilson, James, Pa.

Wingate, Paine, N. H.

Wisner, Henry, N. Y.

Witherspoon, John, N. J.

Wolcott, Erastus, Conn., 1774, 1787-9.

Wolcott, Oliver, Conn.

do *Roger, Jr.*, Conn., 1777.

Wood, Joseph, Ga.

Wright, Turbett, Md.

Wynkoop, Henry, Pa.

Wythe, George, Va.

Yates, Abraham, Jr., N. Y.

do *Peter W.*, N. Y.

Zubly, John J., Ga.

APPENDIX J.

SIGNERS OF THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Bartlett, Josiah. Wentworth, John, Jr.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Hancock, John. Adams, Samuel. Gerry, Elbridge. Dana, Francis. Lovell, James. Holten, Samuel.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Ellery, William. Marchant, Henry. Collins, John.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Sherman, Roger. Huntington, Samuel. Wolcott, Oliver. Hosmer, Titus. Adams, Andrew.

<i>New York.</i>	Duane, James. Lewis, Francis. Duer, William. Morris, Gouverneur.
<i>New Jersey.</i>	Witherspoon, John. Scudder, Nathaniel.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	Morris, Robert. Roberdeau, Daniel. Smith, Jonathan Bayard. Clingan, William. Reed, Joseph.
<i>Delaware.</i>	McKean, Thomas. Dickinson, John. Van Dyke, Nicholas.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Hanson, John. Carroll, Daniel.
<i>Virginia</i>	Lee, Richard Henry. Banister, John. Adams, Thomas. Harvie, John. Lee, Francis Lightfoot.
<i>North Carolina.</i>	Penn, John. Harnett, Cornelius. Williams, John.

<i>South Carolina.</i>	Laurens, Henry.
	Drayton, William Henry.
	Mathews, John.
	Hutson, Richard.
	Heyward, Thomas, Jr.
<i>Georgia.</i>	Walton, John.
	Telfair, Edward.
	Langworthy, Edward.

APPENDIX K.

DELEGATES TO THE ANNAPOLIS CONVENTION, SEPT. 1, 1786.

[Note. The names in italics are those of delegates who declined the appointment or who did not attend the Convention.]

Rhode Island. *Bowen, Jabez.* See Blake's Biog.
Dict'y.

Ward, Samuel. See Appleton.

Massachusetts. *Dana, Francis.*
Higginson, Stephen.

[See "The Collector," vol. 5, No. 9, page 142.]

Sullivan, James.

Sullivan declined the appointment. See No. 152, Part 1, Leffingwell sale.

Lowell, John.

Parsons, Theophilus.

Gerry, Elbridge.

- New York.* Hamilton, Alexander.
 Benson, Egbert.
 [See "New York Civil List" and "The Collector," vol. 5, No. 9, page 142.]
 Duane, James.
 Gansevoort, Leonard.
 Livingston, Robert C.
 Livingston, Robert R.
- New Jersey.* Clark, Abraham.
 Schureman, James.
 Houston, William Churchill.
- Pennsylvania.* *Morris, Robert.*
 [See "The Financiers and Finances of the American Revolution," vol. 2, page 197, Prof. W. G. Sumner.]
 Coxe, Tench.
 Clymer, George.
 Armstrong, John, Jr.
 Fitzsimons, Thomas.
- Maryland.* *Martin, Luther.*
- Delaware.* Read, George.
 Dickinson, John. Chairman of the
 Convention.
 Bassett, Richard.
 Broom, Jacob.
- Virginia.* Randolph, Edmund.
 Madison, James, Jr.
 Tucker, St. George.
 [See No. 2148, Part 1, Leffingwell sale; and Virginia Hist. Soc. Collections New Series, vol. x.]

Smith, Merewether.

Jones, Dr. Walter.

Ross, David.

Ronald, William.

Mason, George.

North Carolina. Nash, Abner.

Moore, Alfred.

[See No. 2124, Part 1, Leffingwell sale.]

Williamson, Hugh.

Blount, John G.

Hawkins, Philemon.

APPENDIX L.

SIGNERS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, AND MEMBERS OF THE FEDERAL CONVENTION.

[Note. Those whose names are printed in CAPITALS took their seats and signed the Constitution. Those whose names are printed in *italics*—unless otherwise stated—never accepted their positions or acted in any way.]

New Hampshire. JOHN LANGDON.

John Pickering.

NICHOLAS GILMAN.

Benjamin West.

Massachusetts. Francis Dana.

Elbridge Gerry. (Refused to sign.)

NATHANIEL GORHAM.

RUFUS KING.

Caleb Strong. (Absent on day of signing.)

Connecticut. WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON.

ROGER SHERMAN.

Oliver Ellsworth. (Absent on day of signing.)

New York.

Robert Yates.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

John Lansing.

New Jersey.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

DAVID BREARLEY.

William C. Houston.

WILLIAM PATERSON.

John Neilson.

Abraham Clark.

JONATHAN DAYTON.

Pennsylvania.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

ROBERT MORRIS.

GEORGE CLYMER.

THOMAS FITZSIMONS.

JARED INGERSOLL.

JAMES WILSON.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Delaware.

GEORGE READ.

GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.

JOHN DICKINSON.

RICHARD BASSETT.

JACOB BROOM.

Maryland.

JAMES MCHENRY.

DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS JENIFER.

DANIEL CARROLL.

John Francis Mercer. (Withdrew.)*Luther Martin.* (Withdrew.)*Charles Carroll of Carrollton.**Thomas Stone.**Thomas Sim Lee.**Gabriel Duwall.**Robert H. Harrison.**Virginia.*

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

*Patrick Henry.**Edmund Randolph.* (Declined to
sign.)

JOHN BLAIR.

JAMES MADISON, JR.

George Mason. (Declined to sign.)*George Wythe.* (Absent on day of
signing.)*James McClurg.* (Absent on day of
signing.)*Richard Henry Lee.**Thomas Nelson, Jr.**North Carolina.**Richard Caswell.**Alexander Martin.* (Absent on day
of signing.)

William R. Davie. (Absent on day
of signing.)

WILLIAM BLOUNT.

Willie Jones.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT.

HUGH WILLIAMSON.

South Carolina.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

PIERCE BUTLER.

Henry Laurens.

Georgia.

WILLIAM FEW.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

William Pierce. (Withdrew.)

George Walton.

William Houstoun. (Declined to
sign.)

Nathaniel Pendleton.

APPENDIX M.

GENERALS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

George Washington, General and Commander-in-chief.

Charles Tuffin Armand, Marquis de la Rouarie, Brig.-Gen.

John Armstrong, Brigadier-General.

Benedict Arnold, Major-General.

George Baylor, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Daniel Brodhead, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Richard Butler, Brevet Brigadier-General.

John Cadwalader, Brigadier-General.

Thomas Clark, Brevet Brigadier-General.

George Clinton, Brevet Major-General.

James Clinton, Brevet Major-General.

John Crane, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Thomas Conway, Major-General.

Elias Dayton, Brigadier-General.

The Chevalier De Preudhomme De Borre, Brigadier-General.

The Chevalier Matthias Alexis de Roche Fermoy,
Brig.-General.

John Philip De Haas, Brevet Major-General.

Philippe Du Coudray, Major-General.

The Chevalier Louis Lebegue Duportail, Major-General.

Samuel Elbert, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Christian Febiger, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Joseph Frye, Brigadier-General.

Christopher Gadsden, Brigadier-General.

Horatio Gates, Major-General.

John Gibson, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Mordecai Gist, Brigadier-General.

John Glover, Brigadier-General.

John Greateon, Brigadier-General.

Nathanael Greene, Major-General.

John Gunby, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Edward Hand, Brevet Major-General.

Moses Hazen, Brevet Brigadier-General.

William Heath, Major-General.

James Hogun, Brigadier-General.

Robert Howe, Major-General.

Isaac Huger, Brigadier-General.

Richard Humpton, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Jedediah Huntington, Brevet Major-General.

William Irvine, Brigadier-General.

Henry Jackson, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Michael Jackson, Brevet Brigadier-General.
John, Baron de Kalb, Major-General.
Henry Knox, Major-General.
Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Marquis de Lafayette, Major-General.
John Lamb, Brevet Brigadier-General.
The Chevalier de la Neuville, Brevet Brig.-Gen.
Monsieur de Laumoy, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Ebenezer Learned, Brigadier-General.
Charles Lee, Major-General.
Andrew Lewis, Brigadier-General.
Benjamin Lincoln, Major-General.
Alexander McDougall, Major-General.
Lachlan McIntosh, Brigadier-General.
George Mathews, Brevet Brigadier-General.
William Maxwell, Brigadier-General.
Hugh Mercer, Brigadier-General.
Thomas Mifflin, Major-General.
Richard Montgomery, Major-General.
James Moore, Brigadier-General.
Daniel Morgan, Brigadier-General.
William Moultrie, Major-General.
Stephen Moylan, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Peter Muhlenberg, Brevet Major-General.
Francis Nash, Brigadier-General.

John Nevill, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Lewis Nicola, Brevet Brigadier-General.
John Nixon, Brigadier-General.
Matthias Ogden, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Samuel H. Parsons, Major-General.
John Paterson, Brigadier-General.
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Brevet Brig.-Gen.
Seth Pomeroy, Brigadier-General.
Enoch Poor, Brigadier-General.
Casimir, Count Pulaski, Brigadier-General.
Israel Putnam, Major-General.
Rufus Putnam, Brigadier-General.
James Reed, Brigadier-General.
Joseph Reed, Brigadier-General.
William Russell, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Philip Schuyler, Major-General.
Charles Scott, Brevet Major-General.
William Shepard, Brevet Brigadier-General.
Elisha Sheldon, Brevet Brigadier-General.
William Smallwood, Major-General.
Joseph Spencer, Major-General.
John Stark, Brevet Major-General.
Arthur St. Clair, Major-General.
Adam Stephen, Major-General.
Baron Steuben, Major-General.
Walter Stewart, Brevet Brigadier-General.

William Alexander, Lord Stirling, Major-General.

John Sullivan, Major-General.

Jethro Sumner, Brigadier-General.

Heman Swift, Brevet Brigadier-General.

John Thomas, Major-General.

William Thompson, Brigadier-General.

Benjamin Tupper, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Philip, Van Cortlandt, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Gozen Van Schaick, Brevet Brigadier-General.

James M. Varnum, Brigadier-General.

Joseph Vose, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Artemas Ward, Major-General.

Anthony Wayne, Brevet Major-General.

Samuel B. Webb, Brevet Brigadier-General.

George Weedon, Brevet Major-General.

John Whetcomb, Brigadier-General.

James Wilkinson, Brevet Brigadier-General.

Otho H. Williams, Brigadier-General.

Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron de Woedtke, Brig.-Gen.

William Woodford, Brigadier-General.

David Wooster, Brigadier-General.

APPENDIX N.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S SECRETARIES AND AIDES-DE-CAMP.

Baylies, Hodijah.
Baylor, George. '
Cary, Richard.
Cobb, David.
Custis, John Parke.
Fitzgerald, John.
Fitzburgh, Peregrine.
Grayson, William.
Hamilton, Alexander.
Hanson, Alexander Contee.
Harrison, Robert H.
Humphreys, David.
Jackson, William.
Johnston, George.
Laurance, John.
Laurens, John.

Lewis, George.
McHenry, James.
Meade, Richard K.
Mifflin, Thomas.
Moylan, Stephen.
Palfrey, William.
Randolph, Edmund.
Reed, Joseph.
Smith, Benjamin.
Smith, William S.
Thornton, Presly P.
Tilghman, Tench.
Trumbull, John.
Trumbull, Jonathan, Jr.
Varick, Richard.
Walker, Benjamin.
Walker, John.
Webb, Samuel B.

APPENDIX O.

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Presidents.

Washington, George.

Adams, John.

Jefferson, Thomas.

Madison, James.

Monroe, James.

Adams, John Quincy.

Jackson, Andrew.

Van Buren, Martin.

Harrison, William Henry.

Tyler, John.

Polk, James K.

Taylor, Zachary.

Fillmore, Millard.

Pierce, Franklin.

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Buchanan, James.
Lincoln, Abraham.
Johnson, Andrew.
Grant, Ulysses S.
Hayes, Rutherford B.
Garfield, James A.
Arthur, Chester A.
Cleveland, Grover.
Harrison, Benjamin.
Cleveland, Grover.
McKinley, William.
Roosevelt, Theodore.
Taft, William H.
Wilson, Woodrow.

Vice-Presidents of the United States, and Presidents pro tempore of the U. S. Senate who were Acting Vice-Presidents.

Adams, John.
Jefferson, Thomas.
Burr, Aaron.
Clinton, George.
Crawford, William H., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of Clinton.
Varnum, Joseph B., Acting Vice-Pres. from Dec. 6, 1813, to April 7, 1814.

Gerry Elbridge.

Gaillard, John, Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of
Gerry.

Tompkins, Daniel D.

Calhoun, John C.

White, Hugh Lawson, Acting Vice-Pres. after the
resignation of Calhoun.

Van Buren, Martin.

Johnson, Richard M.

Tyler, John.

Southard, Samuel L., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of
Tyler's Presidency.

Mangum, Willie P., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of
Tyler's Presidency.

Dallas, George M.

Fillmore, Millard.

King, William R., Acting Vice-Pres. during the Presi-
dency of Fillmore.

King, William R.

Atchison, David R., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death
of King.

Mason, James M., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death
of King.

Cass, Lewis, Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of
King.

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Bright, Jesse D., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of King.

Stuart, Charles E., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of King.

Breckenridge, John C.

Hamlin, Hannibal.

Johnson, Andrew.

Foster, Lafayette S., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of Johnson's Presidency.

Wade, Benjamin F., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of Johnson's Presidency.

Colfax, Schuyler.

Wilson, Henry.

Ferry, Thomas W., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of Wilson.

Wheeler, William A.

Arthur, Chester A.

Bayard, Thomas F., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of Arthur's Presidency.

Davis, David, Acting Vice-Pres. during part of Arthur's Presidency.

Edmunds, George F., Acting Vice-Pres. during part of Arthur's Presidency.

Hendricks, Thomas A.

Sherman, John, Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of Hendricks.

Ingalls, John Jay, Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of Hendricks.

Morton, Levi P.

Stevenson, Adlai E.

Hobart, Garrett A.

Frye, William P., Acting Vice-Pres. after the death of Hobart.

Roosevelt, Theodore.

Frye, William P., Acting Vice-Pres. after Roosevelt's accession to the Presidency.

Fairbanks, Charles W.

Sherman, James S.

Marshall, Thomas R.

APPENDIX P.

SPEAKERS OF THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Muhlenberg, Frederick Augustus.

Trumbull, Jonathan.

Dayton, Jonathan.

Dent, George.

Sedgwick, Theodore.

Macon, Nathaniel.

Varnum, Joseph B.

Clay, Henry.

Cheves, Langdon.

Taylor, John W.

Barbour, Philip P.

Stevenson, Andrew.

Hubbard, Henry.

Bell, John.

Polk, James K.

Hunter, R. M. T.
White, John.
Jones, John W.
Hopkins, George W.
Davis, John W.
Winthrop, Robert C.
Burt, Armistead.
Cobb, Howell.
Boyd, Lynn.
Banks, Nathaniel P.
Orr, James L.
Pennington, William.
Grow, Galusha A.
Colfax, Schuyler.
Pomeroy, Theodore M.
Blaine, James G.
Kerr, Michael C.
Randall, Samuel J.
Keifer, J. Warren.
Carlisle, John G.
Reed, Thomas B.
Crisp, Charles F.
Henderson, David B.
Cannon, Joseph G.
Clark, Champ.

APPENDIX Q.

DELEGATES TO THE "PEACE" CONGRESS HELD AT WASHINGTON IN 1861.

<i>Maine</i>	William P. Fessenden. Lot M. Morrill. Daniel E. Somes. John J. Perry. Ezra B. French. Freeman H. Morse. Stephen Coburn. Stephen C. Foster.
<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Amos Tuck. Levi Chamberlain. Asa Fowler.
<i>Vermont.</i>	Hiland Hall. Levi Underwood. H. Henry Baxter. Lucius E. Chittenden. B. D. Harris.

- Massachusetts.* John Z. Goodrich.
Charles Allen.
George S. Boutwell.
Theophilus P. Chandler.
Francis B. Crowninshield.
John M. Forbes.
Richard P. Waters.
- Rhode Island.* Samuel Ames.
Alexander Duncan.
William W. Hoppin.
George H. Browne.
Samuel G. Arnold.
- Connecticut.* Roger S. Baldwin.
Chauncey F. Cleveland.
Charles J. McCurdy.
James T. Pratt.
Robbins Battell.
Amos S. Treat.
- New York.* David Dudley Field.
William Curtis Noyes.
James S. Wadsworth.
James C. Smith.
Amaziah B. James.
Erastus Corning.
Francis Granger.
Greene C. Bronson.

William E. Dodge.

John A. King.

John E. Wool.

Addison Gardiner. Declined the appointment.

New Jersey.

Charles S. Olden.

Peter D. Vroom.

Robert F. Stockton.

Benjamin Williamson.

Joseph F. Randolph.

Frederick T. Frelinghuysen.

Rodman M. Price.

William C. Alexander.

Thomas J. Stryker.

Pennsylvania.

James Pollock.

William M. Meredith.

David Wilmot.

A. W. Loomis.

Thomas E. Franklin.

William McKennan.

Thomas White.

Delaware.

George B. Rodney.

Daniel M. Bates.

Henry Ridgely.

John W. Houston.

William Cannon.

Maryland.

John F. Dent.
Reverdy Johnson.
John W. Crisfield.
Augustus W. Bradford.
William T. Goldsborough.
J. Dixon Roman.
Benjamin C. Howard.

Virginia.

John Tyler.
William C. Rives.
John W. Brockenbrough.
George W. Summers.
James A. Seddon.

North Carolina.

George Davis.
Thomas Ruffin.
David S. Reid.
D. M. Barringer.
J. M. Morehead.

Tennessee.

Samuel Milligan.
Josiah M. Anderson.
Robert L. Carruthers.
Thomas Martin.
Isaac R. Hawkins.
A. W. O. Totten.
R. J. McKinney.
Alvin Cullom.
William P. Hickerson.

	George W. Jones.
	Felix K. Zollicoffer.
	William H. Stephens.
<i>Kentucky.</i>	William O. Butler.
	James B. Clay.
	Joshua F. Bell.
	Charles S. Morehead.
	James Guthrie.
	Charles A. Wickliffe.
<i>Missouri.</i>	John D. Coalter.
	Alexander W. Doniphan.
	Waldo P. Johnson.
	Aylett H. Buckner.
	Harrison Hough.
<i>Ohio.</i>	Salmon P. Chase.
	William S. Groesbeck.
	Franklin T. Backus.
	Reuben Hitchcock.
	Thomas Ewing.
	Valentine B. Horton.
	C. P. Wolcott.
	John C. Wright.
<i>Indiana.</i>	Caleb B. Smith.
	Pleasant A. Hackleman.
	Godlove S. Orth.
	E. W. H. Ellis.

<i>Illinois.</i>	Thomas C. Slaughter.	} They did not attend.
	John Wood.	
	Stephen T. Logan.	
	John M. Palmer.	
	Burton C. Cook.	
<i>Iowa.</i>	Thomas J. Turner.	
	James Harlan.	
	James W. Grimes.	
	Samuel R. Curtis.	
	William Vandever.	
<i>Kansas.</i>	Thomas Ewing, Jr.	
	J. C. Stone.	
	Henry J. Adams.	
	Martin F. Conway.	
<i>Wisconsin.</i>	Cadwalader C. Washburn.	
	John F. Potter.	
	James R. Doolittle.	
	Charles Durkee.	
	Charles Billingshurst.	

APPENDIX R.

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

Senators.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	John Langdon. Paine Wingate.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Tristram Dalton. Caleb Strong.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Theodore Foster. Joseph Stanton, Jun.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Willian Samuel Johnson. Oliver Ellsworth.
<i>New York.</i>	Rufus King. Philip Schuyler.
<i>New Jersey.</i>	Jonathan Elmer. William Paterson. Philemon Dickinson.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	William Maclay. Robert Morris.
<i>Delaware.</i>	Richard Bassett. George Read.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Charles Carroll of Carrollton. John Henry.

<i>Virginia.</i>	William Grayson. Richard Henry Lee. John Walker. James Monroe.
<i>North Carolina.</i>	Benjamin Hawkins. Samuel Johnston.
<i>South Carolina.</i>	Pierce Butler. Ralph Izard.
<i>Georgia.</i>	William Few. James Gunn.

Members of the House of Representatives.

<i>New Hampshire.</i>	Nicholas Gilman. Samuel Livermore. Abiel Foster.
<i>Massachusetts.</i>	Fisher Ames. Elbridge Gerry. Benjamin Goodhue. Jonathan Grout. George Leonard. George Partridge. George Thacher. Theodore Sedgwick.
<i>Rhode Island.</i>	Benjamin Bourn.
<i>Connecticut.</i>	Benjamin Huntington. Roger Sherman.

	Jonathan Sturges.
	Jonathan Trumbull.
	Jeremiah Wadsworth.
<i>New York.</i>	Egbert Benson.
	William Floyd.
	John Hathorn.
	Jeremiah Van Rensselaer.
	John Laurance.
	Peter Sylvester.
<i>New Jersey.</i>	Elias Boudinot.
	Lambert Cadwalader.
	James Schureman.
	Thomas Sinnickson.
<i>Pennsylvania.</i>	George Clymer.
	Thomas Fitzsimons.
	Thomas Hartley.
	Daniel Hiester.
	Fred. Aug. Muhlenberg.
	Peter Muhlenberg.
	Thomas Scott.
	Henry Wynkoop.
<i>Delaware.</i>	John Vining.
<i>Maryland.</i>	Daniel Carroll.
	Benjamin Contee.
	George Gale.
	Joshua Seney.

- Virginia.* William Smith.
Michael Jenifer Stone.
Theodoric Bland.
John Brown.
Isaac Coles.
Samuel Griffin.
Richard Bland Lee.
James Madison, Jun.
Andrew Moore.
John Page.
Alexander White.
Josiah Parker.
William B. Giles.
- North Carolina.* John Baptiste Ashe.
Timothy Bloodworth.
John Sevier.
John Steele.
Hugh Williamson.
- South Carolina.* Œdanus Burke.
Daniel Huger.
William Laughton Smith.
Thomas Sumter.
Thomas Tudor Tucker.
- Georgia.* Abraham Baldwin.
James Jackson.
George Mathews.

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